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ABSTRACT

Because application of reading research and theory development to the English as a second language (ESL) classroom has not always been forthcoming, this monograph is aimed at helping teachers develop better, sounder reading instruction in the ESL classroom through a better understanding of the reading processes, of the factors that affect reading development, and of the implications of recent research. Papers in this monograph include "Psycholinguistic Theories and ESL Reading" (Michael P. Grove); "Language-Based Reading Theories, English Orthography, and ESL Pedagogy" (Barbara Dogger); "Cultural Knowledge and Reading: Interference or Facilitation" (Margaret S. Steffensen and Chitra Joag-dev); "The Application of Reading Miscue Analysis to Diagnosis of English as a Second Language Learners' Reading Skills" (Ulla Connor); "Alice through the Looking Glass: Reading in Another Language" (Marian Tyacke); "Theoretically Based Second Language Reading Strategies" (Louise Renault); and "Beginning to Read in English the LEA Way" (Pat Rigg). (RS)

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reading english as a second language: moving from theory

C. W. Twyford
William Diehl
Karen Feathers
editors

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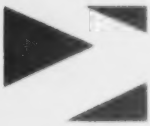

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Departments at Indiana University concerned with language education initiated the Monographs in Language and Reading Studies to serve a number of purposes, including the publication of papers based on conference proceedings, research and development reports, and papers of special interest to teachers and other professionals working in the language education areas. This monograph is an outcome of the relationship of several areas, including the Language Education Departments—English Education, Foreign Language Education, and Reading Education—and the Department of Linguistics.

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Introduction

During the past decade, there has been a rapid increase in research investigations and instructional developments in reading. Researchers from a number of disciplines, including linguistics and cognitive psychology, have investigated aspects of the reading act in efforts to shed light on their particular disciplines. These investigations have also enabled reading educators to better understand the complexity of factors affecting reading and have provided the basis for the development of theoretical models of reading. The development of models of the reading process has proven to be useful for generating new research, for succinctly describing aspects of the reading act, and for suggesting or explaining effective instructional techniques.

While research and theory development have increased dramatically in reading, the results are not always felt in the classroom because dissemination and application of research findings is lamentably slow and understressed. Application to the ESL (English as a Second Language) classroom is virtually nonexistent. A better understanding of the reading process, of the factors that affect reading development, and of the implications of recent research can help teachers in developing better instructional techniques. It is to that end—the development of better, sounder reading instruction in the ESL classroom—that this monograph is directed.

The monograph is predicated on the belief that effective instructional techniques are developed in three ways:

1. *Through an understanding of the reading process.* If teachers understand the reading process—understand what it is they want their students to be able to do—they will be better able to assess progress, to determine causes of reading problems, and to design instruction that best facilitates reading growth. To do this, teachers must have knowledge of reading models and processes. While models are theoretical in nature, they are designed to consolidate knowledge about reading into a succinct description of the total reading act. This description, in turn, provides a teacher with specific direction in assessment, diagnosis and instructional design.

2. *Through knowledge about research techniques and findings.* Research and assessment techniques, such as those used in miscue analysis studies, can be

invaluable to a teacher in determining appropriate instructional techniques. A basic knowledge of such a technique will help a teacher observe student reading patterns and understand reading problems more accurately. Additionally, knowledge about research findings and implications can be applied to instructional development.

3. *Through modeling and adapting proven techniques.* Teachers often rely exclusively on adaptation of ideas from manuals, textbooks, and fellow teachers in devising instructional techniques. Through exposure to effective strategies from a new framework, teachers can begin to devise similar techniques for their own situations.

This monograph attempts to briefly cover these three areas. In the first section, recent models and conceptions of reading, appropriate to the ESL classroom, are discussed. In this section, Michael Grove reviews research and theories stemming from psycholinguistic and cognitive psychology orientations. This review provides the reader with background in major reading models that have important implications for ESL programs. These models are also the basis for the research reported in this volume by Connor and by Steffensen and Joag-dev, and for the instructional techniques suggested by Tyacke, Renault, and Rigg. Also in the "Theory" section, Barbara Dogger discusses the underlying causes of special problems many ESL learners experience when encountering English orthography.

In the second section of the monograph, two research reports are presented. These reports represent two major research thrusts—the examination of comprehension through retellings and the examination of reading processes through miscue analysis. These research techniques are especially applicable in ESL programs, and can provide the teacher or researcher with important insights into students' reading. The report by Steffensen and Joag-dev specifically addresses the issue of cultural interference in learning to read English, and provides an analysis of ESL methodologies in that light. The report by Connor examines reading process differences among students of different nationalities, and provides a basic framework for teachers to use in their own classrooms.

In the third section, instructional techniques based on the models and research discussed earlier are presented. Tyacke describes an overriding instructional framework based on our knowledge of the reading process. Renault presents a series of specific instructional techniques based on psycholinguistic theories. Rigg discusses applications of the Language Experience Approach (LEA) to reading in the ESL classroom.

Because of increasing demands for ESL literacy, it is vital that better methods of developing reading ability be devised. To do this, teachers need an understanding of the reading process, of research trends and implications, and of new, effective techniques. The editors hope this monograph is a step in that direction.

William Diehl
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Psycholinguistic Theories and ESL Reading

Michael P. Grove

During the past two decades, a great deal has been written concerning theoretical approaches to reading. Among the most prominent are the psycholinguistic and schema theories. In this introductory paper, these approaches to the study of reading will be examined. In addition there will be a discussion of the various uses of Miscue Analysis and some ways it has been applied to first language (L_1) and second language (L_2) reading. Implications for L_2 reading based upon the theories and studies presented here will be proposed in the conclusion of the paper.

Linguistics and Reading

Approaching reading from a given theoretical foundation is not a novel concept. In the early 1960s, several books dealt with reading from a point of view proposed by structural linguistics. Structural linguists analyzed language by starting with phonemes and progressing to morphemes and phrases. Their major concern was with the surface structure of language, which is evident in their approach to reading.

Leonard Bloomfield, a founder of American structural linguistics, was one of the first linguists to attempt to use a linguistic base for the study of reading. His interest had been aroused by a dissatisfaction with the manner in which his son was being taught to read and in the way reading was being taught as a whole in the 1930s. In the late 1930s and early 1940s, Bloomfield and his partner, C. L. Barnhart, developed some reading materials which they attempted to have published and tested, but they could find no one who would do either. However, in the late 1940s, the concept of applying linguistics to reading began to grow, and in 1961 the Bloomfield and Barnhart text *Let's Read: A Linguistic Approach* was finally published (Olsen, 1968).

For Bloomfield, the most important aspect in learning to read was the ability to recognize letters and to relate them to sound. Bloomfield described it quite simply "*printed letter = speech sound to be spoken.*" (Bloomfield & Barnhart, 1961, p. 36). Along with learning to associate letters and sounds in sentences like "Nan

can fan Dan" (p. 60), the child has to learn left-to-right eye movement. Once the child has gained control of these two skills he is ready to read.

C. Fries (1963), another structural linguist, also suggested that the recognition of the alphabet be taught first. But instead of focusing primarily on spelling patterns, he suggested that a study of word patterns was the best way to learn to read. Fries thought that children could learn to read by contrasting patterns, such as "at—cat," "pat a rat," and "cats bat at rats" (p. 203). The comparisons began very simply and progressed to more complex constructions. It should be noted that the types of patterns used were much like those suggested by Bloomfield.

Another linguist who applied structural linguistics to reading was C. Lefevre (1964). Unlike most before him, Lefevre focused on language patterns because they contained the meaning of the material being read. He even went so far as to criticize Bloomfield and Fries by suggesting that the materials they proposed did not relate to a child's language and were difficult to read aloud (Lefevre, 1965).

The approaches to reading advocated by the structural linguists have been criticized because they have been concerned mainly with the surface elements of the reading material. Since these linguists made their proposals, however, there have been changes in linguistic theory which have resulted in new approaches to the problem of reading (Wardhaugh, 1969).

Psycholinguistics and Reading

Noam Chomsky, in his *Syntactic Structures* (1957) and *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax* (1965), proposes that there is a difference in one's linguistic competence and performance. Competence refers to the knowledge one has of the grammar of one's language, while performance involves one's speech and comprehension of that language, one's superficial behavior. Therefore, a grammar is used to generate all of the grammatical sentences and none of the ungrammatical ones; a grammar represents an individual's competence and is therefore not primarily concerned with surface forms.

Chomsky's 1965 grammar is structured around three components: the syntactic, the semantic, and the phonological (see Figure 1). The syntactic component contains base rules and a lexicon, which produces deep structures for a transformational component to operate on in order to create surface structures. The semantic component interprets the deep structure for meaning and the phonological component interprets the surface structure for sound. This grammar then suggests that there are actually two levels to language: the deep structure, where the underlying meaning of sentences resides, and the surface structure, which dictates the final forms to be uttered.

According to Chomsky's theory, a person who has native knowledge of a language controls the rules that relate the deep structures and the surface structures (Chomsky, 1972). Knowing a language, then, means knowing the possible sounds and lexical items, the base rules, and the transformations. This knowledge allows one not only to produce utterances, but also to understand the

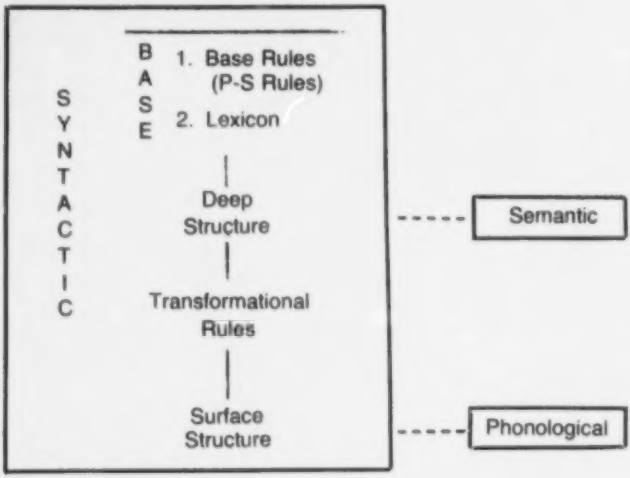

Figure 1. Transformational grammar components.

meanings of the novel constructions any speaker of the language makes. As noted by Vygotsky (1965), to understand someone, we must comprehend more than the words he speaks—"we must understand his thought" (p. 151).

Psycholinguistics is concerned with more than the structure of language and its interaction with thought; it is also concerned with how a child acquires a language. When a child enters school, he has an unconscious control of his language. He is able to create his own novel sentences and make judgments about ambiguity, grammaticality, and synonymity. Although the language abilities of a child entering school do not equal those of an adult (Wardhaugh, 1971), the child learns a great deal during the first year and continues to refine his language during the elementary years.

It has been argued by some psycholinguists that, unlike learning to talk and understand spoken language, "learning to read is neither natural or effortless" (Foss & Hakes, 1978, p. 32). All individuals learn to speak and comprehend, unless there is physical or cognitive disability, but learning to read involves a great deal of effort on the part of the learner. Foss and Hakes have stated that "many individuals who spend years in school still fail to reach more than a marginal level of reading skill" (p. 323).

However, today many psycholinguists dispute this point of view. For example, Torrey (1973) observed a young boy who was able to read in kindergarten, but the cause for this ability was unknown since he had never received direct instruction. This study supports Smith's (1975) feeling "that children know how to learn to read, if given half a chance" (p. 186).

Reading involves a series of activities, such as "imitation, repetition, control of stimuli, correction, and expansion" (Wardhaugh, 1971, p. 191), which may not be significant in acquiring a language. In addition, learning to read seems to be related to one's background. Those children who come from a rich language background, i.e., those children who engage in frequent conversation with their parents, have easy access to books, are read to often and come from "a positive family atmosphere" (Ruddell, 1976, p. 32), tend to perform better on language oriented skills.

For many children learning to read seems to come naturally; for others the task is very difficult and cumbersome. Possibly one of the best ways to overcome reading difficulties would be to present instruction in a meaningful environment. By employing the skills suggested by Wardhaugh, promoting a natural use of the language, and presenting reading materials related to the children's environments, learning to read might be made easier.

In a psycholinguistic analysis of reading Smith (1978) has presented what he believes to be some of the important components of the reading process. He sees reading as an activity involving two forms of information: the *visual*, i.e., what is on the printed page, and the *nonvisual*, i.e., the reader's language competence and his background experiences. Through the exchange of these two forms of information, the reader understands, to the best of his abilities, what the author is describing. The more nonvisual information one has, the less he needs to rely on the visual. Of course, if little nonvisual information is available to the reader, more visual information is required, and the reading process becomes less efficient (Smith, 1973).

The nonvisual information covers a wide variety of activities, including "building vocabulary, making sense of letter-sound relationships, developing. . . word identification ability, acquiring speed, avoiding tunnel vision, preventing memory overload, [and] relying on sense" (Smith, 1978, pp. 180-181). All of these activities are important in reading, but they are things an instructor might have difficulty teaching a child. According to Smith, the best way for a child to learn to do these things is by the very act of reading.

When children learn how to read there are two things they must realize before reading instruction will make any sense to them: "that print is meaningful" and "that written language is not the same as speech" (Smith, 1978, p. 182). The first point is relatively self-explanatory; if children are not aware that what can be found in print is meaningful, then instruction in reading is worthless. The second point involves understanding how language functions and the types of feedback one can get from the print itself. One way children can learn that written language is different from speech is by having someone read to them (Ruddell, 1976).

The fact that children are aware that print is meaningful has been documented by Harste, Burke, and Woodward (1979). They presented children, ages three to six, with material found in everyday situations, such as a Crest box or a McDonald's cup. When they were shown the objects, some of the children read the words as they were printed. Other children, however, produced responses

that did not correspond to the written material but nonetheless reflected that the children understood that the words had meaning. For example, when a young boy was shown a Crest carton and asked what it said, he replied, "Brush teeth."

Likewise, the same investigators have illustrated that children realize that there is a difference between speech and written language. As part of the study they asked the children to write for them. The investigators found that the children could produce material that was meaningful to them. Though some of the material may have appeared to be "scribble drawing" (Harste et al., 1979, p. 20), the print and the children's reactions to it reflected that it had meaning for them and that the children were making hypotheses concerning how written language works.

Smith feels that reading teachers need to provide children with feedback and help the children when problems arise. The teachers also need to aid in the development of nonvisual information by adding to the nonvisual information the children already possess and by showing the children that they can employ it to acquire more from the print (Smith, 1978).

Another theorist who has contributed a great deal to the analysis of the reading process is Ken Goodman. To him, reading is "a psycholinguistic guessing game" (1976b) in which readers, during oral reading, encode the print for meaning and recode it for oral language. Readers predict what they are reading based on the three systems of language: the graphophonic (parallel to Chomsky's phonological component), syntactic, and semantic components; the elements in their peripheral view; and the redundancy of language. "Comprehension depends on the reader's using all the cues available to him" (Smith, Goodman, & Meredith, 1970, p. 266). Those cues may be divided into three groups. The first set of cues includes those that appear within words, such elements as sound-letter relationships, shapes of words, affixes, known words, and small, familiar words that appear in larger, unfamiliar ones. A proficient reader is one who uses these cues, but does not overuse them, for overuse tends to lead away from comprehension.

The second set of cues is comprised of structural markers: function words, question markers, verb markers, inflectional endings (such as past markers or markers for person), pitch, stress, juncture, and word order. These are also known as contextual cues.

The final group of cues consists of those within the reader. This involves the language used by the author and the reader, on which there must be agreement. If there are differences in the language, such as dialect, there can be problems in the reading process. Also in this category, one finds the background experiences of the reader (his knowledge of the world) and his ability to understand concepts. If the reader's background is weak, or if he has difficulty understanding concepts, then reading will be difficult (Smith, Goodman, & Meredith, 1976).

One indication that children use these cues was found by K. Goodman (1965) in a study of 100 children in grades 1 through 3. Each child was presented with a list of words to define. The lists were of comparable difficulty and were taken from

stories the children would later read. It was found that after reading the stories all of the children could understand at least 50% of the words they had previously missed.

Another indication that individuals can use the various cues found in language is reflected in such works as Burgess's *A Clockwork Orange* and Carroll's "Jabberwocky." In both works, there are examples of unfamiliar words used in context. By relying on the various cues, one can derive a certain amount of meaning. For example: "When we got outside of the Duke of New York we viddied, by the main bar's long lighted window, a burbling old pyahnitsa or drunkie. . . " (Burgess, 1963, p. 13); or "One, two! One, two! And through and through/The vorpal blade went snicker-snack!" (Carroll, 1972, p. 28). In these statements one can identify the parts of speech, and one can even guess at their possible meanings by using the cues that appear in the sentences and in the sentences that precede and follow them.

Schema Theory and Reading

In the past few years, an approach known as schema theory has been applied to reading. This approach, like the psycholinguistic one, stems from cognitive psychology. Loosely defined, schema theory involves the relationship of past and present experiences. The idea of a *schema* was suggested as early as 1781 by Kant in his work *The Critique of Pure Reason*. He proposed that concepts could have meaning only when they were related to something the individual already knew. That is, the individual possesses general concepts to which he relates more specific concepts (Kant, 1781/1966). Bartlett, in his 1932 book, *Remembering*, described schema as "an organization of past reactions, or of past experiences" which is constantly functioning. When new experiences are encountered, they are related to the schema and simultaneously become part of it.

More recently, schema has been described as an innate part of perception which grows and develops from the general to the specific as the individual encounters a variety of experiences (Neisser, 1976). More specifically, schemata are "interacting knowledge structures" (Rumelhart & Ortony, 1977, p. 100) which represent "general concepts" (p. 101). The schema is seen as a hierarchical structure moving from general to specific. One schema can be embedded in another, and each can possess a number of variables. Due to this hierarchical structure, there are two types of processing: *bottom up* or *top down*. If incoming data activate "schemata which correspond to them" (Rumelhart & Ortony, 1977, p. 128) and schemata at a higher level, there is bottom up processing. If incoming data activate "their constituent schemata," there is top down processing. It has been suggested that the most efficient information processing occurs when the structure of the information reflects the structure of the schema.

Adams and Collins (1977) take as an example the concept of "going to a restaurant," which would appear at the top of the "going to a restaurant" schema. Moving down through the hierarchy, more specific schemata are encountered, such as sit-down restaurants, fast-food places, ethnic restaurants, dinner theatres, etc. Within each of these schemata would be others that would provide more

detailed information. For example, within the schema for ethnic restaurants one might find Italian, Greek, Chinese, Mexican, etc. Within Mexican one might find a listing of known Mexican restaurants, and within the schemata of each of those restaurants, schemata idiosyncratic to those restaurants might be found. Other schemata involving different restaurant experiences would be embedded at the appropriate levels of the hierarchy. As is reflected in this very simplified example, a schema and its underlying schemata present a very complex structure.

By employing various related schemata, an individual comprehends an event. If the individual's knowledge of the experience is insufficient for complete comprehension, he might be able to fill in the gaps by using other sets of schematic variables or relationships (Armbruster, 1976). If the experience is not totally understood, it is also possible that schemata may be employed to partially understand the incoming experience (Rumelhart & Ortony, 1977). Of course, when the appropriate schemata fail to exist altogether, some experiences cannot be understood and no new information can be acquired (Anderson, 1977).

To interpret an experience, one matches the concept to corresponding schemata, which are said to have "slots or place-holders" (Anderson, Spiro, & Anderson, 1977). Specific pieces of information fit into the slots and it is thought that those elements have a higher probability of being learned than those pieces of information which do not fit.

When schema theory is applied to reading, it "permits us to look at reading as a constructive process" (Harste & Burke, 1978, p. 21), in which the reader uses the knowledge he already has and expands it with what the author provides. Since comprehension in reading involves not only the information in the text, but also knowledge the reader already possesses, efficient comprehension requires the ability to relate the textual material to one's own knowledge (Adams & Collins, 1977). Comprehending words, sentences, and discourse, then, involves much more than just relying on one's linguistic competence. "Every act of comprehension involves one's knowledge of the world as well" (Anderson, Reynolds, Schallert, & Goetz, 1976, p. 6).

The proficient reader activates schemata through both bottom up and top down processing. The bottom up process begins with letters and moves up through the identification of words, syntactic structures, and, finally, meaning. The top down process begins with the readers' knowledge of language and of their world and then tests certain hypotheses against what is printed (Adams, Anderson, & Durkin, 1978). Although the proficient reader uses both the top down and bottom up processes at the same time, when reading becomes difficult or the information is not clear the reader relies more heavily on one process than the other. The choice of which to use depends on the individual's needs and on what information is available to the reader (Adams, Anderson, & Durkin, 1978).

A number of recent reading comprehension studies have been carried out, using schema theory as the theoretical framework. In one such study (Anderson et al., 1977), subjects were divided into two groups and each group was given a specific passage to read. The first group read about dining in an elegant restaurant, while

the other group read about shopping in a supermarket. Many of the same items, such as certain foods, appeared in both stories. It was felt that since the restaurant schema is better defined and structured than the shopping schema, those who read the restaurant passage would remember more. This hypothesis was confirmed when a significant difference was found in the items that were recalled. Those who read the restaurant passage did perform significantly better in the recall task.

Pichert and Anderson (1976) presented subjects with material which could be read from two different perspectives. The subjects were asked to read the stories from a given point of view or no particular point of view. They were then asked to recall specific information. It was concluded that "*it was an idea's significance in terms of a given perspective* that influenced whether it was learned."

In a similar study, Anderson, Reynolds, Schallert, and Goetz (1976) used two stories with two perspectives each. The investigators relied on the schemata of the subjects as opposed to providing a definite point of view. The stories presented were (a) the "Prison/Wrestling passage," which could be interpreted as a prison escape or as the breaking of a hold by a wrestler and (b) the "Card/Music passage," which could be interpreted as four people playing cards or as four members of a wind ensemble in rehearsal. There were two groups of subjects: 30 women majoring in music education and 30 men who were in weight-lifting classes. The groups were given both stories and multiple choice comprehension tests. It was found that the weight-lifting students tended to read the "Prison/Wrestling" story as a wrestling story and the "Card/Music" story as a story about playing cards. The music students, on the other hand, more often read the "Prison/Wrestling" story as a prison escape and the "Card/Music" story with the rehearsal interpretation. A major conclusion of the study was "that people's personal history, knowledge, and belief influence the interpretations that they will give to prose passages" (Anderson et al., 1976, p. 19).

The study by Anderson et al. (1976), was replicated by Smith, Harste, and Carey (1980) to study subjects in "*situationally constrained* and *situationally less constrained* settings (p. 5). The situationally constrained subjects were majoring in the same field. The situationally less constrained subjects were of mixed majors. The results reflected that the situationally constrained subjects performed like the subjects used by Anderson et al. However, the situationally less constrained subjects did not reflect the same results. Smith, Harste, and Carey concluded that the "social context as well as cognitive schemata affected the interpretation given to the ambiguous passages" (p. 6.)

The findings of Smith, Harste, and Carey suggest that the context in which a given reading passage is read needs to be taken into consideration when analyzing reading comprehension. Such a socio-psycholinguistic approach (Harste & Burke, 1978), deals with reading on a personal level; reading involves a relationship between the author and the reader. The reader's linguistic knowledge, background information, and present situation affect his comprehension of the author's meaning. An important conclusion reached through this approach is that some students differentiate between functional reading and reading instruc-

tion. The socio-psycholinguistic approach focuses on the functional aspect of reading and suggests that reading instruction should "look more like reading" (p. 28).

The concepts presented by schema theory, and the results reflected in experiments based on schema theory, suggest that the information we acquire from our past experiences influences the way we interpret new experiences. According to this theory, what an individual is able to learn is strongly influenced by the schemata he brings to school (Anderson, et al., 1977). In analyzing the reading process, researchers have suggested that "the principal determinant of the knowledge a person can acquire from reading is the knowledge s/he already possesses" (Anderson et al., 1976, p. 22).

The work done by psycholinguists, then, has provided new directions for approaching and understanding the reading process. They have suggested that reading is actually much more complex than the structural linguists proposed. The psycholinguists have also noted that reading involves much more than just the efficient manipulation of linguistic material; an individual's background experiences and the sophistication of his schemata, along with the form of instruction, are also important in the processing of the material and the search for meaning. However, it is necessary to observe how these various factors actually interact when an individual reads. Due to the complexity of the psycholinguistic model, it is difficult to collect sufficient data that reflect the approach. A form of error analysis has been developed which can be used to analyze the factors involved. The error analysis, known as Miscue Analysis, provides insight into the different reading strategies readers employ and it helps to illuminate many of the suggestions made by the psycholinguists.

Miscue Analysis

Miscue Analysis (MA), a form of error analysis developed by Goodman, focuses on oral reading and has been very useful in demonstrating how the reading process functions.

Other forms of error analysis of oral reading are based on the idea that oral reading has to be accurate; not only are errors unwanted, they are seen as weaknesses. The errors are also viewed equally—the analysis of them is only quantitative, not qualitative (K. Goodman, 1976a). For example, consider The Gray Oral Reading Test and The Gilmore Oral Reading Tests. The Gray exam lists eight types of errors: omissions, insertions, substitutions, repetitions, inversions, "aid given to the child," "gross mispronunciation," and "partial mispronunciation" (Harris & Smith, 1972, p. 299). The scores are based on the number of errors made and the time required to read a given passage. A distinction in scoring is made according to sex. The examiner can analyze the types of errors made, but that diagnosis is of no significance in the final score.

The Gilmore test is quite similar in the classification of errors, but the scores are computed in a different manner: accuracy, comprehension as reflected by answers to the comprehension questions, and reading rate (Harris & Smith, 1972).

It is obvious that the major concern in these tests is not the type but the number of errors made and the time required to read the passage. A reader who would substitute six words that are syntactically and semantically correct and do not alter the meaning of the passage is judged the same as the reader who substitutes six words that are syntactically and semantically incorrect and that alter the overall meaning of the passage. MA takes facts such as these into account when examining a reader's ability.

MA research began in 1963, and stemmed partly from the realization that all people, regardless of their reading proficiency, make errors when reading aloud, and that these errors are not random but occur systematically. In reading, one can use any of the three systems of language—syntax, semantics, and graphophonics. However, in the process of reading, the reader makes errors. These errors are based on the system (schemata) he is using. If the error does not change the meaning, the reader may not be aware of the "error" or miscue. (In MA an error is not classified as an "error," as such, but as a miscue, since it is the results of incorrectly predicting or sampling a cue.)

The more proficient reader is concerned with the semantic cues, whereas the poor reader tends to focus on the graphic cues. This tendency is evidenced by the fact that the proficient reader will correct miscues if they change meaning, or if the miscues are totally meaningless. On the other hand, the poor reader often relies on word-for-word accuracy, which is reflected in a variety of ways: he makes miscues that look like the expected response or the original graphic display, and meaning is lost; he corrects miscues that have not affected meaning; and he will repeatedly try to pronounce a word, even though it makes no difference to the passage as a whole (K. Goodman, 1973).

Studies using MA have been productive and have led to new insights about how children read. It has been found that many children who are learning to read tend to go through a period when they do not use the graphophonic system and try to "tell the story and make sense of the print without use of the graphic print" (Y. Goodman, 1976, p. 118). It has also been demonstrated that children can understand words in a context better than if the words are in isolation.

MA is like the other oral reading exams in that it categorizes the miscues according to their form: substitutions, omissions, insertions, and reversals of words and phrases. Substitutions are usually the most frequent miscues. When children first learn to read, they tend to substitute other words they know for words in the text. As they become proficient readers, children also substitute nonsense words along with words they already know for the ER. In children, omissions frequently appear when an unfamiliar word is encountered. But with proficiency, one omits words that are not important. Insertions tend to appear with proficiency, while reversals tend to disappear. (A proficient reader is defined as one "who is both effective and efficient when processing written language information" (Y. Goodman, 1976, p. 113).)

Along with these categories, each miscue is also judged according to the language system that is involved. The miscues are judged as to whether they are

graphically/phonetically similar to the ER, whether they are syntactically acceptable in the structure, and if they are semantically acceptable in the structure.

The graphophonic system is used by all readers. Non-proficient readers tend to use this system more than the proficient readers (Y. Goodman, 1976). Those focusing on this system are basically dealing with the surface structure. It has been shown that one moves away from this system as one gains proficiency, yet one also makes miscues that are related to this system when reading something difficult (Menosky, 1976). Some studies have indicated, however, that a reliance on this system may be an artifact of instruction (Barr, 1975; Harste & Burke, 1977).

In the syntactic system the three systems interact, and it is this system that is used to reach the deep structure. Burke (1976b) analyzed this system and discovered three trends: (a) Young children who are beginning to read already possess an understanding of how the system works. (b) Because more is understood of syntax than semantics, miscues are judged more highly on a syntactic basis. And (c), proficient readers tend to make miscues that occur at places in sentences where structures meet other structures.

The semantic system involves meaning and is the ultimate goal of reading. A significant aspect of this system is contextual meaning, which is reflected in the relationship between syntax and semantics (Page, 1976a). A proficient reader tends to use the cues of this system more than the non-proficient.

The semantic system also involves the interrelationship of the author's knowledge and the reader's knowledge. By using the other systems of language, the reader is able to transfer the meaning intended by the author to his own knowledge. One realizes that a reader is relying on the semantic and syntactic systems when he makes a miscue that is in no way graphophonically similar to the ER and is not corrected, but is "semantically and syntactically acceptable" (Page, 1976b, p. 91).

It appears that reading does not take place when one of these systems is used alone. Reading involves all three systems and a proficient reader will tend to depend more on syntax and semantics than on graphophonics. If, however, the first two fail to provide a sufficient amount of reading, the reader will fall back on the latter (Burke, 1976a).

Bilingual and ESL Studies

Several studies using MA have been done to analyze some of the properties of first language (L_1) reading. The previous section provides a description of some of the major findings resulting from those studies. It has been found that MA can also be a useful instrument in analyzing the second language (L_2) reading process. However, at this time, only a limited number of MA studies have been done on L_2 readers. In this section, some of the significant bilingual and ESL MA studies will be discussed.

Hodes (1977) completed a study of seven- and eight-year-old bilingual children who spoke Yiddish as a first language, and English. The children read stories orally in both languages and the miscues were analyzed. Even though the languages have different alphabets and are written in different directions, the investigator found no differences in the types of miscues; the children used the same strategies in both languages.

Williamson and Young (1976) analyzed the miscues of thirty bilinguals (Spanish/English) who were paired with monolinguals. It was found that the monolinguals reflected a better usage of the grammatical and semantic cues. Even though both groups tended to overcorrect their miscues, the bilinguals had more of a tendency to lose comprehension.

Romatowski (1973) studied three Polish-English bilinguals who had moved to the United States. She focused on phonological, syntactic and semantic interference from one language as they read a story in the other. All seemed to be able to handle the syntactic and semantic systems well, though all of the subjects demonstrated that their Polish affected the syntactic system as they read English.

In a case study of a 12-year-old girl learning English as a second language (ESL), Rigg (1976) noted that her subject substituted words that were graphically similar to the text. The nonsense words the reader created were not only graphically similar, they were also syntactically acceptable. The strategies demonstrated by the child caused Rigg to suggest that teachers should not interrupt ESL readers when they are reading orally.

Rigg continued her work in MA by examining ESL students from four language groups: Arabic, Navajo, Samoan, and Spanish. The study was an attempt to discover if universals exist in reading English as a second language. She examined 48 subjects classified as "most average" (Rigg, 1977, p. 107). She eliminated dialect and phonological miscues from the analysis and found that subjects from each language group made similar miscues: "the substitution of a null-form of an inflectional suffix" and "the substitution of the base form of a verb for an irregular past or participle" (p. 111). The fact that similar miscues were found in each group and that the researcher classified a series of their miscues as dialect miscues suggests that universals do exist in reading English as a second language.

In a study of adult ESL learners, Clarke (1979) compared the reading abilities of good and poor L_1 readers to discover if L_1 reading strategies transfer to second language reading. For the study he employed both cloze tests and oral readings in both Spanish (the native language), and in English. In the first part of the study, he examined 21 proficient readers from Latin American countries who were enrolled in an ESL program. For the cloze test, specific words were deleted from the text. It was hoped that the replacements would then be based on an understanding of the passages. The subjects read passages in both English and Spanish. Clarke found that the good L_1 readers were also good L_2 readers. On the Spanish test, the good readers relied more on semantics while the poor readers

relied more on syntax. The difference was not as dramatic on the English test, for all subjects tended to rely equally on syntax, while the good readers relied somewhat more heavily on semantics.

For the oral reading, Clarke compared two subjects, both of whom were in the same English language class. Judged on the basis of the cloze test, one was classified as a good reader, while the other was classified as a poor reader. When the subjects read Spanish, the two were found to be equal in their use of syntax, but the good reader did rely more on semantics than the poor reader. With the English passage, the good reader relied more heavily on syntax and semantics than the poor reader. Though the results were not strongly conclusive, it did appear that the reliance on certain reading strategies was carried through from L_1 to L_2.

In a pilot study (Grove, 1979), three Arabic ESL students in a college ESL program were compared to three proficient-native college freshmen and three remedial-native high school seniors (final semester). The three ESL students were in the highest level of the program and were preparing for academic work in American universities. All readers read two stories in English and the miscues were analyzed. As in the studies cited above, the proficient-native readers made the best use of syntax, while the remedial-native readers primarily focused on the graphophonic system. The ESL students performed much like the remedial-native students. The ESL readers reflected higher graphophonic scores than the remedial-native readers, while their overall comprehension scores were much lower than the remedial readers. The ESL students tended to rely more heavily on the strategies used by remedial readers. They also scored the lowest in the ability to use syntax and semantics. Since the results are similar to those of other ESL students from different backgrounds, the findings are probably not due to the fact that they have a graphically different first language. The results could be due to a lack of knowledge of syntax and semantics; thus, the ESL students could not easily predict and anticipate what they were reading..

Finally, Buck (1973) suggested what she thought could be the causes of miscues generated by a non-native speaker when reading a second language: the non-native speaker might not have a native understanding of the syntax used, and he might confuse his native syntax with the syntax of the second language. He also might not be able to efficiently use the strategies of sampling, predicting, testing, confirming and correcting since "he may not know which units store the most information" (p. 95). And in some cases the reader, due to his lack of linguistic knowledge, might be unaware of the fact that he has even made a miscue. Buck also suggests a schema point of view in analyzing the miscues of a non-native speaker; the non-native speaker might have difficulty reading material that is alien to his own background experiences.

Implications

As a result of the discussions of the theoretical approaches to reading and the applications of MA to L_2 readers, a variety of implications can be drawn for ESL reading. It is evident that two major points need to be considered when analyzing

ESL reading: (a) the ability of the ESL readers to use language cues, and (b) the interrelationship of the reader's schemata and the text. These points provide suggestions for where research needs to be done in the ESL classroom. This research can lead to a better understanding of the ESL reading process and instruction to help the students overcome problems.

K. Goodman has defined the act of reading as "a sampling, selecting, predicting, comparing and confirming activity in which the reader" makes use of the various cues provided by the text (1975, p. 210). When the child enters school, he has a basic understanding of how the language functions. When he begins to read he can apply his knowledge of the language to the text. However, the student in the ESL classroom is at a disadvantage. His knowledge of the language is limited and he requires assistance in applying his linguistic knowledge to the reading material. There is obviously a need to demonstrate to the ESL reader the linguistic strategies used in the reading process. In the present volume, M. Tyack considers the need of transferring reading skills from one language to another and of the reader's understanding of how the reading process takes place.

To read proficiently, however, the ESL student requires more than an understanding of how to use language cues efficiently. As suggested by schema theory, one's background experiences play a large role in how one understands reading material. In the case of the ESL student, cultural differences may prevent him from comprehending material and may even hinder his reading progress. This problem is discussed more fully in this volume by M. Steffensen and C. Joag-dev in their article "Cultural Knowledge and Reading: Interference or Facilitation."

Schema theory might suggest the development of culturally related material to aid in the improvement of ESL reading skills. However, such a task would be quite difficult when an instructor is dealing with a heterogeneous class. But one technique which could be employed, and which would allow the students to actively use their own schemata, would be the implementation of a language experience approach.

P. Rigg suggests this approach in this volume. The implementation of such an approach would make it possible to engage the students' individual schemata in the development of materials they would later read. Also, such an approach would aid in the development of the reading strategies of sampling, predicting, testing, confirming, and correcting.

Another beneficial classroom procedure might be the discussion of the reading material prior to the actual reading (Harste & Burke, 1978). By employing such a technique, teachers could aid in the development and expansion of schemata. This task would improve the students' comprehension of the material, and would, again, allow them to use appropriate reading strategies.

Psycholinguistics has provided a broad base for understanding the relationship of reading and the L_2 student. A few implications of psycholinguistic theory have been suggested here. For future research, Miscue Analysis may be very useful.

MA has demonstrated a great deal of the psycholinguistic nature of the reading process in L_1 readers, and is beginning to show some interesting aspects of L_2 reading. U. Connor's article in this volume extends this form of research. By applying MA to ESL reading, we may be able to learn more about the psycholinguistic aspect of the L_2 reading process. And by employing many of the ideas suggested by schema theory, we may be able to relate the L_2 readers' background experiences to the reading material and thereby help students overcome the problems they face when reading English as a second language.

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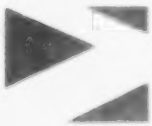

Language-Based Reading Theories, English Orthography, and ESL Pedagogy

Barbara Dogger

Oral Language Development and Reading

Goodman (1970), Pearson (1978), Ruddell (1965, 1967), Smith (1971), and Venezky (1967) have argued that both semantic and syntactic information found in spoken language are used automatically in the reading process, and research studies have been conducted to investigate the role that syntactic and semantic content play for a native speaker during reading. For example, Tulving and Gold (1963) found that the amount of time needed to recognize words presented on a tachistoscope was an inverse function of the number of words preceding the target word. Goodman (1965) showed that children reading in context read 60 to 80% of the words that they had previously missed in isolation. Pearson and Studt (1975) supported the idea that the context words used in a sentence greatly affected the amount of information that six- to eight-year-old subjects needed to identify the target word.

Studies have also been conducted that demonstrate the relationship between knowledge of grammar and reading proficiency: Gibbons (1941) showed, first, that a high correlation exists between the ability to see relationships between parts of a sentence and the ability to understand sentences and, second, that a high correlation exists between the ability to understand sentences and general reading proficiency. DeLancey (1962) later found that the ability to recognize form class as represented by the base and affix forms of written English is a separate factor in reading comprehension.

Smith (1971) further describes the reading process in terms of redundancy. A beginning reader brings knowledge of the world—including syntactic and semantic knowledge—to the task of reading, and this knowledge allows a reader to predict new information. For example, as native speakers begin to read the sentence, *The book Bill read was interesting*, they are able to anticipate the later parts of the sentence because of their knowledge of sentence structure. Furthermore, each additional word provides more semantic and syntactic information to predict the remainder of the sentence. Diagrams A, B, and C in Figure 1 illustrate this. With each added word, certain syntactic and semantic possibilities are eliminated, and an increasingly accurate prediction of the sentence is possible.

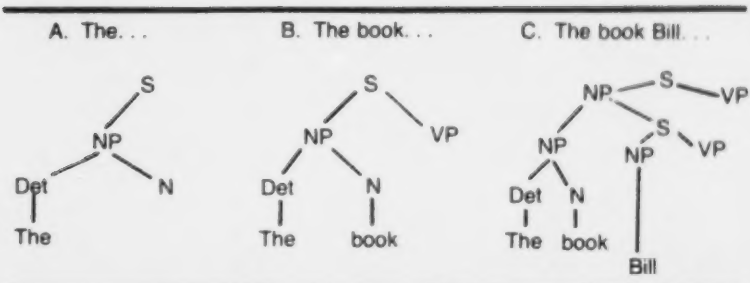

Figure 1. Syntactic prediction in reading.

In this way, two types of redundancy, defined as adequate information to provide for the prediction of new information, operate in a sentence. First, knowledge of oral language and knowledge of the world provide experiential redundancy. Second, each additional word functions as a clue to reduce uncertainty further and to predict the remainder of the sentence. These additional clues provide sequential redundancy. Both of these forms of redundancy provide sequential redundancy. Both of these forms of redundancy make fluent reading a constructive process in which comprehension is built upon minimal visual stimuli with knowledge filling in the empty spaces.

Mastery of the English Writing System in Reading

While processing the syntactic and semantic aspects of language takes place as an automatic transfer from speech to writing, transfer of the spoken form to the written form is not automatic in identifying phonological forms represented in spelling. A reader must learn to identify the graphic representation of spoken language, and such a mastery of the writing system involves becoming familiar with the written characters and the way they are combined to represent morphemes and words (Pearson, 1978; Venezky, 1967, 1970, 1976).

The exact way in which English orthography represents oral language (sound-symbol relationships) has been an issue in many spelling programs and reading programs (Bailey, 1976; Bloomfield & Barnhart, 1961; C. Chomsky, 1970; Clymer, 1963; Fries, 1963; Vaughan-Cooke, 1977; Venezky, 1967, 1970, 1976; Wardhaugh, 1974). In the past, the phonics approach and the linguistics approach, which emphasize learning phoneme-grapheme correspondences in beginning reading, have been popular. Yet, these approaches have received extensive criticism because they are limited to a description of letter-sound correspondences only and do not reflect an awareness of the underlying structure of the English writing system.

In analyzing the relationship between English phonology and orthography, N. Chomsky and Halle (1968) postulated an abstract form of words which underlies

the phonetic form. This form they called the lexical representation or lexical spelling of a word.

In their theory, lexical representations are related to phonetic representations by phonological rules. They conclude that the phonological structure of lexical representations corresponds neatly with conventional orthography.

An example will clarify the character of this lexical representation. As suffixes are added to the word, *nation*, there is vowel change common in English— —

[nēysən, næšənəl, næšənælətiy].

In order to preserve the identity of the root word, this sound shift is not reflected in the traditional writing system. Rather, the spelling of the root form remains the same when the affixes, *-sl* and *ity*, are added. This results in the written forms—*nation, national*, and *nationality*—which are a close reflection of the abstract lexical representation as they preserve the shape of the base morpheme rather than reflecting phonetic variants.

Are these abstract lexical representations merely constructs postulated by linguists, or do they have psychological reality for the language user? It seems that the lexical representation and the corresponding aspects of English orthography do have a psychological reality. For example, in pairs of words such as *critical/criticize, revise/revision, illustrate/illustrative*, speakers/hearers recognize these words as related. But what is common to these pairs is not their surface form, where their phonetic representations are different. What is common is their underlying form, their lexical spelling to which the orthography corresponds quite closely.

C. Chomsky (1970) has summarized the English writing system as follows

> Words are represented in orthography in two ways—phonetically and lexically. Examples of phonetically spelled words are *kill* and *sill* in which the phonetic difference between [k] and [s] is represented by different letters. Examples of lexically spelled words are pairs like *divine* and *divinity* in which the phonetic difference between the second vowel in each word is not represented by a different letter; rather the base is preserved in both forms to represent the common reading in both. (p. 296)

She also identifies two advantages of representing words lexically in the writing system:

1. A person learning to read is aided by lexical spellings because those words in the lexicon that are similar in meaning, such as *create-creator*, are also similar in orthographic form.

2. Because traditional English orthography often represents a morphophonemic unit of language rather than a phonemic or phonetic sound segment, a person is encouraged to read larger "chunks" or units of printed material—lexical units—rather than the phonetic representation of that unit.

When children being to read, they may assume that the writing system corresponds directly to sound. However, it will be necessary to abandon this idea and to recognize the writing system as representing underlying abstract lexical representations. When a child is able to make this transition to semantically significant units of meaning, he will experience faster reading due to immediate comprehension of lexical units. As this phonological competence increases, he will become more familiar with the meaning expressed by the spellings of words—through the spelling of root forms and affixes. Indeed, he will have mastered the English writing system and will be able to move on to master other aspects of the reading process.

Shuy (1977) describes the process of developing reading proficiency as a mastery of various language structures. The first step in reading involves focusing attention on letter-sound correspondences. However, this focus is changed as soon as a reader masters these correspondences. At that time, a reader moves on to process larger units, and he continues to read larger and larger linguistic units as he becomes a more proficient reader. These increasingly larger linguistic units are letter-sound correspondences, syllables, morphemes, words, sentences, linguistic context, and pragmatic context.

What seems to be a crucial difference between beginning readers and fluent readers is their mastery of English orthography. For example, Goodman and Niles (1970) state that a beginning reader must recode input as speech and then utilize his own speech to decode to meaning. In contrast, a proficient reader can decode to meaning automatically. Because the fluent reader has mastered the phoneme-grapheme correspondences, etc., he is able to rely on naturally acquired semantic and syntactic information represented in speech to predict the information found in print.

This automatic decoding to meaning is also described by LaBerge and Samuels (1974) in their automaticity model of reading. They describe the process of beginning reading as slow, laborious, and painful, for the reader must give attention to both decoding and comprehension. This is done by switching back and forth between the two. In contrast, a fluent reader is able to concentrate full attention on getting meaning from the printed words because decoding is done automatically.

The processing of information without attention is possible because of long-term memory, as the LaBerge-Samuels model demonstrates. Automatic information processing in reading includes three processing stages—one for visual memory (VM), one for phonological memory (PM), and one for semantic memory (SM).

1. Visual Memory. In the visual memory component (VM), incoming information from the words in print strikes the surface of the eye, where dectors process features such as lines, curves, angles, and relational features. For example, the letter "b" is made up of a vertical line (l) and a circle (o). In moving from left to right to the next level of the model, features are combined to form letters; next, letters and letter-combinations are combined to form spelling patterns, and spelling patterns combine to form words.

2. Phonological Memory. Acoustic units in phonological memory—features, phonemes, syllables, and words—are counterparts of the features, letters, spelling patterns, and words found in visual memory, and they are arranged in a hierarchy as are units in visual memory.

3. Semantic Memory. Two types of meaning are produced in semantic memory—individual word meanings and comprehension of written messages.

When both words and content are familiar to a reader, the information flow goes from visual memory directly to semantic memory, bypassing phonological memory. However, when the content becomes unfamiliar and more difficult, the reader changes the processing strategy and begins to subvocalize the words. The information flow now is from visual memory to phonological memory and then to semantic memory. In this way, the model emphasizes the contrast made between beginning reading and fluent reading. Furthermore, it demonstrates the role of long-term memory in mastering the English writing system for fluent reading.

Singer (1978) distinguishes between the learning-to-read process and the gaining-of-information process. He describes learning to read as a process of "acquiring responses to printed words and learning to integrate these responses with previously developed. . . semantic and syntactic processes" (p. 60). This phase of reading is mastered by 95% of the population by grades 6 to 8. The second phase involves the materials and processes of thinking. Once again, mastery of the writing system is viewed as a crucial prerequisite to utilizing cognitive strategies in the gaining-of-information process of reading.

Following the mastery of this decoding process, it is possible for all language components—syntactic, semantic, and graphophonic—to be used together "in concert" for maximum reading comprehension (Pearson, 1978). Fluent reading takes place at this time.

Reading Instruction and ESL Pedagogy: A Meeting of Disciplines Through English Orthography

This process of relating spoken language to written language is often impossible for ESL students because of their deficiency in oral English. For this reason, directly teaching them English word formation and its accompanying orthography is crucial to their learning to read fluently.

Research supports this position. Specifically, knowledge of lexical forms (words) as represented in English orthography, and knowledge of the process of word formation facilitates the acquisition of a greater reading vocabulary. Carroll (1940) found that morpheme-recognition is correlated positively with knowledge of vocabulary as demonstrated by performance on the *Morpheme Recognition Test*. Shepherd (1973) established that a correlation of .65 exists between

knowledge of word parts, as demonstrated by performance on the *Morpheme Knowledge Test*, and knowledge of vocabulary, as demonstrated by performance on the *Quick Word Test*.

The teaching of English orthography can also be beneficial to ESL students' knowledge of sentence structure since many words in English are made up of a base form plus a suffix, the latter representing a part of speech (noun, verb, adjective, or adverb). For example, the base verb form, *create*, can be changed to its derived forms—*creation* (noun), *creator* (noun), *creative* (adjective), or *creatively* (adverb)—by adding the appropriate suffixes. When ESL students become aware of the fact that suffixes may signal specific syntactic functions in a sentence, they can reinforce knowledge of grammatical structures through reading. Thus, derivational morphology lessons should be included in the curriculum to help develop such awareness.

As ESL students learn more about the mysteries of English orthography and its underlying structures, they will be able to bypass the steps involved in phonological memory in order to process information directly from visual memory to semantic memory. In this way, ESL readers can become fluent readers of English.

Conclusion

This chapter reviews the research dealing with the use of language knowledge for reading. It covers research dealing specifically with the influence of syntactic and semantic knowledge of reading as well as research dealing with the effect of the English writing system on reading proficiency. Finally, it suggests an interactive approach to teaching for language competence and reading skill simultaneously by instructing ESL students in the facts of English language reflected in its orthography.

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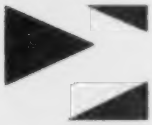

Cultural Knowledge and Reading: Interference or Facilitation

Margaret S. Steffensen and Chitra Joag-dev

In the foreign language/EFL (English as a foreign language) pedagogical literature, there are two different perspectives on reading. One is that reading is a skill to be acquired in the course of a comprehensive language program. Virtually all of those persons formulating such programs have recognized the interrelationship of language and culture, but have reached different conclusions about the implications for reading instruction. Some advocate the use of target culture materials to develop in their students an appreciation of the bond between the society and its code as well as the culture itself. Others stress the interference that can occur when a student's experiential background differs from that assumed in written materials. They recommend the selection of texts that minimize such conflict.

A second position views reading as an already acquired skill that can be used to increase the student's knowledge of the values, social structure, and behavioral patterns of the foreign culture. Advocates of such a position also recognize the unity of language and culture: for them, reading the literature of the target group is seen as a way of increasing cross-cultural empathy or as a means to better command of the language.

In this paper a cross-cultural study of reading conducted within schema theory will be briefly described. Representative pedagogical positions will be discussed in light of the experimental findings, and the implications for foreign language/EFL practitioners will be considered.

A Cross-Cultural Study of Reading Performance

The fact that even highly proficient foreign speakers of English often find reading English texts quite time consuming was the motivation for the cross-cultural study conducted by Steffensen, Joag-dev, and Anderson (1979). It was hypothesized that subjects would be able to read a text based on their own culture and written

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by a member of that culture more rapidly than a text based on a foreign culture and written by a foreign author. It was also predicted that more would be recalled of the native than the foreign text. Finally, it was expected that there would be more culturally-appropriate elaborations in the recall protocols of the native passage and more distortions in those of the foreign passage.

Two texts were prepared, both in the form of a personal letter. One, written by Steffensen, described a traditional American wedding. The other, written by Joag-dev, described a typical Indian wedding. Syntactic complexity was controlled for by making the T-unit scores (the number of words per independent clause) of the two letters essentially identical (see Appendix 2).

Subjects were given the experimental texts in a booklet which contained—among other things—pages for recording the time, blank pages for the recall procedure that was used, and a personal data sheet. The order of the two passages was counter-balanced. Subjects read a warm-up passage, then one of the experimental passages. After a filler task, which was expected to inhibit short term memory (STM), they were given instructions to read that emphasized verbatim recall of the letter about the wedding and were requested to make a written response. Verbatim recall was neither expected nor scored. Of interest was whether or not subjects captured the gist of the text. However, in order to avoid the impression that this was a creative writing task, conformity to the exact wording and form of the original letter was emphasized. The same sequence was repeated with the second passage; that is, subjects read the passage, completed an interpolated task aimed at STM, and completed the written recall of the second wedding passage.

Subjects were 20 Indians and 20 Americans who were matched on age, sex, marital status, highest year of education completed, and area of academic specialization. Since both groups of subjects were living in the United States, Indian subjects were asked how long they had been here. All subjects were also asked whether they had ever attended an American or an Indian wedding and how familiar they were with American and Indian wedding customs. None of our American subjects had ever attended an Indian wedding, had ever visited India, or presumed any familiarity with Indian marriage customs. A number of Indians, however, rated themselves as familiar with American wedding customs and one had even attended an American wedding. They were therefore a less naive population than our American subjects.

Each text was parsed into idea units. For ease of scoring, an effort was made to segment the passages into units containing only one bit of information that was expected to be significant for the analysis. These units were verified by two independent judges. (Examples of idea units are given in Appendix 1.) These were used to score subjects' protocols for the amount recalled and for distortions and elaborations.

As predicted, subjects in each group were able to read the passage based on their own culture more rapidly than the passage based on the foreign culture, i.e., Indian subjects read the Indian passage more rapidly than the American passage

(276 vs. 304 seconds), and the American subjects read the American text more rapidly than the Indian (168 vs. 213 seconds). There was also a significant main effect for nationality: American subjects read faster than Indian subjects. This was a reflection of the fact that the Americans were reading in their native language while the Indians were not.

All protocols were analyzed for amount recalled correctly. Again, the prediction was supported, with subjects accurately recalling more of the native passage and less of the foreign passage. Americans recalled an average of 52.4 idea units from the American text and only 37.9 from the Indian. Indian subjects recalled an average of 37.6 idea units from the Indian and only 27.3 from the American.

Errors were broken down into three groups. The first group consisted of elaborations, i.e., extensions of the text that were consistent with the cultural background of the text. One passage in the Indian text read:

> Two days after the wedding, Prema went to Nagpur. Her father-in-law has a house there, and she and her husband will be living there with his parents and two younger sisters.

This was recalled by an Indian subject as:

> After two days of marriage she *was taken* to Nagpur. *Her father-in-law accompanied her.* (Emphasis added)

The information that the bride went to her new home with her father-in-law is consistent with Indian marriage customs, but this was not explicitly mentioned in the text. Similar elaborations of the American text occurred in American protocols. For example, the passage reading:

> Actually, it was surprising that the men were in such good shape because they had a stag party on Thursday and didn't get in until 3 a.m.,

was recalled by an American subject as:

> Her fiance had a stag party before the wedding and *everyone got drunk*.

A second set of errors were distortions that could be related to gaps in the subject's knowledge about the foreign wedding customs or intrusions of native customs and beliefs into the foreign text. In the Indian text there was a fairly long discussion about the gifts that the bride's family would give to the groom's—part of the marriage settlement. These gifts were transmuted to "favors" by an American, which was scored as a clear case of cultural intrusion. Indian subjects, incidently, elaborated and described these gifts as "traditional," a wording that did not occur in the text. No Americans "recalled" such information since it was not there to be recalled. Subjects elaborated on their native passage and produced distortions of the foreign passage. Both of these effects were highly significant.

A third set of errors were mistakes that could not be related to cultural backgrounds, such as remembering the color of the bridesmaids' dresses incorrectly.

Some of these might, in fact, be culturally based, which would simply increase the strength of the results (see Appendix 1).

Greater insight into these results can be gained within the framework of schema theory. Schemata are the abstract cognitive structures which incorporate general knowledge about specific objects or situations (Anderson, Spiro, & Anderson, 1978). These abstract structures include "slots" which are filled with specific information bits as a text or message is processed. Most adult Americans possess well-developed schemata relating to the wedding ceremony. When such schemata are activated, there are slots available for the incorporation of specific details given in the text. For example, an American reader would be "culturally primed" for references to bridesmaids or a maid of honor. On the other hand, there is no reason to expect that a naive Indian reader would be. In this way, schemata provide the framework for processing the information given in a text.

Anderson, Reynolds, Schallert, and Goetz (1977) have identified three specific functions of schemata. One is "that schemata provide the basis for filling gaps, the basis for inferential elaboration, the basis for positing states of affairs, not expressly mentioned, that must hold if a passage is to permit a coherent interpretation" (p. 370). This role of culturally based schemata was demonstrated by recalls of the description of the exchange of wedding rings in the American letter, which read:

> It was a double-ring ceremony, but George's ring was gold and Pam's was platinum, to match her engagement ring. Have you seen the diamond she has? It must have cost George a fortune because it's almost two carats.

No American subject had trouble reaching the correct interpretation of this vague passage. They knew that three rings were involved and that the diamond described was the stone in the engagement ring. The fact that more than a paraphrase of information present in the text was involved was shown by the protocols of Indian subjects. One recalled, "The bride's ring was a two carat diamond placed in platinum and the bridegroom's is of gold."

Secondly, high-level schemata constrain the reader's interpretation of ambiguous texts (Anderson et al., 1977, p. 371) and "can cause a person to give one interpretation to a passage without even considering other possible interpretations." A clause in the Indian text showed this effect. It read, ". . .the marriage was arranged only a month ago. . . ." This was intended by the author to mean that both sets of parents had decided such a match between their children was suitable, and the formal negotiations about the dowry and the details about the wedding arrangements had been concluded. One Indian clearly reflected this interpretation when she paraphrased and referred to the union as "an arranged marriage." An American subject, operating under the dictates of his own cultural schemata, reflected another interpretation when he wrote, "The wedding was only arranged a month before the marriage." This was a clear reference to the ceremony, while the reference in the text was to the union of the couple and their two families.

A third function occurs at the level of metacomprehension. "It is when the reader has constructed a correspondence between relevant schemata and the givens in a message that s/he has the sense that the message has been comprehended" (Anderson et al., 1977, p. 369). One American subject clearly indicated that he had *not* grasped part of the Indian text in spite of remembering the fact that the letter writer and her friends ate last at the wedding feast:

> And the husband and bride and the in-laws ate first and we ate last since we're such good friends of them (whaaat?).

This suggests that this reader was not able to call upon the relevant schema, that he was monitoring his comprehension, and that he knew that he did not understand. These specific renderings of passages in the texts by subjects from the two cultural populations provide support for the operation of culturally based schemata in the reading process.

In addition to the recall experiment, a norming study of the two letters was conducted with subjects in India and the United States. These subjects were presented with booklets containing, in counterbalanced order, the two letters broken down into idea units. They were asked to rate the importance of each idea unit on a five-point scale ranging from "essential" to "easily eliminated due to its unimportance." Using these data, two sets of idea units were identified for each passage: those rated at least one standard deviation more important by Americans than Indians and those rated at least one standard deviation more important by Indians than Americans. Subjects in the recall study remembered significantly more of those idea units that were judged important by their own countrymen.

This study has a complete design: two texts based on two cultures were both read by two groups of subjects drawn from those cultures. The results, therefore, cannot be dismissed as an artifact of passage difficulty or of an idiosyncratic difference in the populations of subjects. These findings clearly indicate that the schemata related to the cultural setting of a discourse exert a profound influence on how well the discourse will be comprehended, learned, and remembered. Reading is more difficult and there are more errors in comprehension when the reader does not have the cultural background and the generalized schemata assumed by the writer. The other side of the coin, of course, is that reading is enormously facilitated when the reader can bring to bear the appropriate schemata.

These results have implications for EFL and foreign language teachers and theorists, as well as for those teaching children of ethnic minorities in mainstream classrooms. Students will read more rapidly and with a higher level of comprehension if there is a match between the cultural background information they possess and that of the text. When there is a mismatch, teachers must modify their methodology if students are to fully understand the passage. In the next section, a variety of viewpoints put forward in the fields of EFL and foreign language teaching will be considered in light of these experimental findings.

Foreign Language/EFL Methodologies Involving Reading and Culture

Overview

When basic research is applied to an endeavor such as teaching, there is always a time lag between the theoretical insight and its use in the classroom. In this section several methodologies directed to reading that are aspects of comprehensive programs of language instruction will be reviewed briefly. These include the following trend-setting publications in foreign language teaching methodology: Fries (1945, 1963), Rivers (1968), Rivers and Temperley (1978), Paulston and Bruder (1976), and Robinett (1978). While all of these writers recognize the interrelationship of culture and language, generally the more recent work reflects the findings of experimental studies which indicate the need to accommodate to differences in background information. However, even when the impact of cultural background is acknowledged, its strength is sometimes underestimated and instructional strategies are less effective than they might otherwise be. Two other methods that focus on reading as the way to provide cultural insight will also be considered (Marquardt, 1967, 1969; Allen, 1956). These writers are more concerned with reading as a means of acquiring information and less interested in the acquisition of the reading process itself.

Fries: Meaning at the Social-Cultural Level

Researchers in EFL and foreign-language teaching have been aware of the impact of cultural knowledge on reading since Fries (1945, 1963) first presented and described the concept of social-cultural meaning and its relationship to the levels of lexical and grammatical meaning. His discussion accords best with the cross-cultural experimental data on reading. Within his analysis, lexical meaning is derived from words and their co-occurrence restrictions. Grammatical meaning is carried by the arrangement of form classes, function words, and intonation contours. Social-cultural meaning is the meaning of the sentence that transcends the formal language code and can be related to the organized information of the groups using that code.

For Fries, the comprehension of the total meaning of a sentence occurs only when the linguistic meaning is fitted into this "social frame of organized information." He illustrates the importance of the social-cultural level with a passage from Washington Irving. The response to Rip Van Winkle's "archaic" use of the term "Tory" after an absence of 20 years can be attributed to the fact that its cultural meaning had changed from "good citizen" to "enemy of the new government." Fries concludes, "The reader of the story of Rip Van Winkle has missed its 'meaning' unless he grasps at once the significance of the reaction of the group to Rip's words" (1963, p. 110).

While Fries' work has influenced subsequent writings directed to foreign language and EFL pedagogy, his position has been attenuated. This may be attributed to a number of causes: (a) the emphasis of structuralism on the spoken language and its translation into the aural-oral method of language instruction; (b) the relative ease of teaching the sound system and syntax as compared to

teaching culture; and (c) an initial underestimation of the strength of the effect of cultural knowledge.

Rivers and Temperley: Reading Interference at the Affective/Lexical Level

In her book, *Teaching Foreign Language Skills*, Rivers (1968) suggests methods for teaching both reading and culture (Chapters 9 and 11). Working with an audio-lingual framework, she proposes six stages for reading instruction, which range from reading material that has been memorized in oral form to independent reading of any material in the target language. Maintaining good oral skills in spite of possible interference from the written form is one of her particular concerns. It is claimed that reading material aloud that has already been learned orally will prevent this sort of influence, and it is recommended that oral reading be used throughout the first stages of instruction.

She maintains that there is a bond between culture and language which must not be broken if the student is to have a complete understanding of the meaning of the language. She therefore recommends that even in the early stages of instruction the student read texts that involve activities and situations in the target culture. At stage three, when the student "graduates" from reading rearrangements and recombinations of memorized material, Rivers (1968, p. 227) suggests choosing "situations common to young people in both cultures. . .with a background of foreign ways and places. . . ." She claims that such material, besides being more interesting, provides an early introduction to the culture with a minimum of misunderstanding. Likewise, when extensive reading is introduced into the students' program at stage four, it should be selections of present-day literature of the target culture. By stage five, she expects students to be able to experience the foreign culture by reading modern authors whose work has not been adapted in any way.

Rivers identifies differences in values and attitudes as one of the main sources of problems in learning a foreign language and one of the areas in which significant progress in understanding a foreign culture can take place. These differing values are often placed at the lexical level. For example, a word such as "mother" will have varying affective values depending upon the cultural context in which it is used. Her discussion relies heavily on Osgood's work on the semantic differential and the point is made that students must learn the connotative values basic to discourse in the foreign language.

Her suggestions for teaching culture reflect her strong belief in the unity of language and culture. She makes the important point that any authentic use of literature will introduce cultural concomitants into the classroom. However, she objects to "civilization" courses geared to teach features of social life, such as marriage customs, leisure time activities, festivals, etc., because she feels that they do not throw much light on basic attitudes. Materials such as dialogues which focus on major areas of similarity and contrast between the two cultures, expository materials, and literary texts are the means of achieving the major goal of cross-cultural awareness.

While Rivers does not go far enough in identifying the sources of interference, there is a great deal in her approach that is supported by the experimental research. For example, differences in the connotative values of terms were found to have a profound effect on recall. In the passage in the Indian text describing the dowry arrangements, there was a reference to the groom's parents. It read, "Prema's in-laws seem to be nice enough people." Most Americans would consider this only a mild endorsement, but Indians recalled it as very favorable, as indicated by the following examples drawn from Indian protocols:

> Her in-laws were really nice for they didn't make any fuss although he was their only son.
>
> Her in-laws seem to be very nice people. Though he is their only son they didn't give much trouble.

No such interpretation appeared in any of the American protocols. Such variation must certainly be attributed to different affective values inherent in the concept "in-laws."

Many such errors were identified in the protocols but these do not seem to be the principal source of confusion in reading foreign language texts. The problem is much more extensive and involves both the denotative values of words and the meaning of larger linguistic units. For example, native meanings were imposed on foreign concepts and inferences made incorrectly on the basis of native assumptions. Explicit statements in the text of major actors, actions, and situations as well as in the overt sequencing of events were so badly distorted that they represented a major breakdown in comprehension. One American subject made what should be considered a major effort to recall all the information included in the Indian text, and in terms of numbers of idea units, he did remarkably well. However, he scrambled the order of several events; he had chunks of information but no framework for organizing them. Events describing the formal visit that the bride's family pays to the groom's the day before the wedding were amalgamated with both the dowry negotiations and with the marriage ceremony itself.

For American subjects, the two events immediately after the Indian wedding were a particularly rich source of this type of error. There is a wedding feast followed by a reception. American readers were expected to collapse these two events into one, on the pattern of the American wedding reception. The passage involved read:

> There must have been about five hundred people at the wedding feast. Since only fifty people could be seated at one time, it went on for a long time. The first batch with the groom and important in-laws started at noon. Since we were the bride's party, and were close friends besides, we ate in the last batch with her parents. We barely had time to get dressed for the reception.

In one American protocol, this event was remembered as having taken place *before* the wedding, thus providing the writer and her companions a reason to hurry. This provides a nice example of one of the processes involved. Specific foreign events are distorted as they are assimilated to the abstract or generalized

structure underlying the native event. Then, since the coherence of the text has been partially destroyed, events are resequenced in order to re-establish logical relationships, such as cause and effect.

In a more recent book, Rivers and Temperley (1978) place an increased emphasis on providing background information, explaining high-frequency but culturally-loaded terms, and supporting reading selections with illustrations in an effort to add new meaning to even simple texts. However, social-cultural meaning is still described as an evaluative dimension (1978, p. 202), and a great deal of reading performance appears to be attributed to knowledge of vocabulary. Passages are given (1978, p. 204ff.) that illustrate how much readers would understand if their receptive vocabulary were extremely limited, e.g., the 500 most frequent words in the Thorndike-Lorge *Teacher's Word Book of 30,000 Words* (1944).

Often there can be interaction between the process of assimilation to the native system of knowledge and unfamiliarity with a particular lexical item. The American text read:

> The only thing that really broke tradition was the wedding cake. It looked like the usual type, with several tiers and a bride and groom on top, but when George and Pam cut the first piece, everyone was amazed to see that it was devil's food.

This was recalled by an Indian subject as:

> The wedding cake was a different one which was cut by George and Pam themselves. It was a great surprise for them as it was not a real cake. It contained some ornaments.

It is quite likely this subject did not know what devil's food cake was. This lack of knowledge interacted with the phrase referring to the ornamental bride and groom on top of the cake, which he probably identified with the Indian tradition of baking small ornaments *in* the cake, and this unusual recall was the result. However, such factors are only part of the problem. Even graduate students, who are presumably skilled readers, had problems that extended far beyond vocabulary. In the Indian text, there was a long passage (approximately 170 words) describing the gifts that the bride's family would give to the groom's, the gifts to be given to the bride, and the fact that there was no dowry. American subjects collapsed this passage to such terse and incorrect statements as:

> There were dowry gifts from both sides of the family—jewelry, saris. Something about a scooter also.
>
> Prema got a lot of gold as presents.
>
> For the dowry, everyone in the world got saris, and one person got pearls, which were white with something black in between them. It was pretty. There was some discussion about what the favors would be but they settled on silver cups for the men and saris for the ladies and toys for the children.

It is conceivable that some readers did not know the meaning of the word "dowry." However, such recalls suggest that subjects were not able to fit a

lengthy discussion about even such a basic process as the exchange of goods into the relevant social framework, and much of the information presented in the text was therefore lost. The main point to be made is that while there may be problems with individual lexical items and differing cultural values, the most pervasive problems can be related to the absence of the appropriate generalized underlying information assumed by the writer and possessed by readers sharing his/her cultural background.

Paulston and Bruder; and Robinett: Covert Information and Reading

Paulston and Bruder (1976) follow Goodman's thesis that proficient readers must draw on their experiential conceptual background in order to supply a semantic component to a message. They argue that, "It is. . .easier to learn to read when the cultural background is familiar and students can draw on cultural information in the decoding process" (p. 160). For this reason, texts with local settings and specialized, low-frequency vocabulary are appropriate (in spite of "common-sense" attitudes to the contrary) because they are relevant to the students' world and are easier to read. In agreement with Rivers, they recognize that there should not be a conflict between the students' own values and those expressed in the reading materials.

While Paulston and Bruder make a number of useful suggestions for reducing the impact of differing background information on reading, their attitude toward the use of questions in the EFL classroom, particularly those that can be answered directly from the text, is not compatible with their awareness of the importance of cultural familiarity for comprehension. Their claim (1976, p. 167) that yes/no, true/false, and WH questions are simply an exercise in improving short term memory is not supported by the research, which showed misunderstanding of such explicitly stated facts even by as academically sophisticated a population as advanced graduate students. Consider the errors in American protocols associated with the events after the Indian wedding, for example.

Robinett (1978) also identified covert cultural information as one of the factors in reading performance:

> Many things enter into comprehension: the students' grasp of the subject matter of the reading, their understanding of the cultural content implicitly or explicitly expressed, and their ability to cope with the grammatical structures in the passage. (p. 255)

Such a position is fully in agreement with the experimental findings. However, recognizing that cultural insight is necessary if one is to master a foreign language, Robinett suggests that the teacher provide specific background experience by a variety of means, such as pictures, films, magazines, and literature, as well as describing their own experiences with the target culture. It should be noted that there is some inconsistency in recognizing the impact of culture on EFL reading comprehension on the one hand and recommending literature as a means of providing cultural insight on the other.[1] Such suggestions may be the result of underestimating the strength of cultural interference or simply a case of relying on traditional methods of doing things.

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[1] See Yousef, 1968, for a clear illustration of the failure of such a methodology.

The above programs are directed to mastery of all aspects of language performance—speaking, listening, reading, writing—with the final goal of linguistic and communicative competence. Because these pedagogical approaches consider each skill at every stage of instruction, the effect of cultural interference is recognized and accommodated, to varying degrees. Another group focuses on literature as a means of teaching culture. While they are also interested in language learning, they often do not consider in such detail the implications of their methods for both the *process* of reading and the mastery of the linguistic system. They appear to assume that at a certain point these skills will be adequate for reading literature and the content of the text will not have a crucial effect on comprehension. Marquardt's (1967, 1969) articles represent such a viewpoint. He sees literature as a way of creating empathy between different sub-cultures and as a means of teaching culture to foreign students. Writing in the late sixties he makes a number of general statements that seem highly questionable in light of the experimental results, e.g., "The surest way to teach empathy for culturally different problems is through literature. Literature vivifies and highlights the ways people of a particular culture live. But more important, it enables the reader to experience how they feel" (1969, p. 133). His claims about specific aspects of interference are also questionable. For example, he predicts that there will be the greatest interference at the point where cultural patterns differ most. On the contrary, events that are similar were found to be highly interfering. As reported above (p. 36), the events after the Indian wedding differ from the American in there being a feast in addition to a reception. There were many errors involving this distinction. However, although there is no Indian counterpart to the honeymoon, Indian subjects did not appear to have trouble with that aspect of the American text.

Marquardt (1969) presents a useful grid for identifying literature to be taught to disadvantaged minority students. This incorporates such characteristics as the cultural background of the writer, the setting of the text, and the sort of interaction involved. In this article, Marquardt stresses the importance of choosing literature by minority authors for such students. This suggestion represents an improvement over his earlier position of ranking the writings in English by foreign observers as the most difficult. He also makes the important point that the process of establishing a program of reading which attends to cultural differences will have a beneficial effect on teachers, making them less ethnocentric and more aware of how their own cultural experiences affect their perceptions of everyday events and activities.

Like Marquardt, Allen (1956) is interested in using literature to teach culture. His goal, however, is in supplying substitute experiences in the target culture because he believes ". . .that language derives its meanings from the situations, or the contexts, in which it is used" (p. 1). He is therefore interested in literature as a means of furthering foreign students' acquisition of English.

He has developed an exhaustive checklist for American culture which is based on the lists used for anthropological fieldwork. It covers such categories as "social structure," "economic structure," "political structure," and "educational system,"

all of which are subdivided. For example, the category "social structure" includes "family groups," "social groups," "community units," "leisure time activities," and "language formulas and gestures." Each of these major divisions is further broken down. The teacher is to use this list in analyzing short stories and novels, which Allen considers the easiest forms of literature for the foreign learner. Once the teacher has identified the cultural features that occur in the text, the lesson may be planned. Allen recommends preparing students for the text by giving them a brief introduction and supplying a setting, then alerting them to the specific culture information in the reading. He also recommends the use of realia, pictures, and films as a way of further clarifying the target experience. Besides indicating the topics that should be taught, the checklist pinpoints details that differ across cultures but are normally taken for granted.

Conclusion

This paper briefly describes a theoretical study (Steffensen, Joag-dev, & Anderson, 1979) which demonstrates that reading performance is a function of background information. If readers possess the schemata assumed by the writer of a text, reading is facilitated. Besides reducing the time needed for processing a text, schemata provide the basis for the elaboration of less-than-complete passages in a way consistent with the intentions of the author; they make possible the appropriate disambiguation of ambiguous passages; and they are one of the means by which readers monitor their comprehension. If readers do not possess such schemata in a cross-cultural reading task, they are in the unenviable position of having to abstract from the text both the normative cultural values and behaviors as well as the specifics of the particular events being described.

In the pedagogical texts and articles, there are differing methodologies for reading instruction which reflect different attitudes toward the question of cultural interference. Fries (1945, 1963) proposes that the meaning of a sentence can be fully understood only when the social-cultural context is understood, a position fully consistent with the experimental findings. The reader needs knowledge beyond the linguistic level to read with comprehension. Rivers (1968) and Rivers and Temperley (1978) emphasize interference in terms of attitudes, values, and connotative differences at the word level. However, they advocate introducing the student very early to the target culture through reading materials and oral exercises that reflect the integrity of language and culture. Paulston and Bruder (1976) and Robinett (1978) are more cautious about the interfering effect of background knowledge, and note that the implicit content of a text will affect comprehension. While there is a great deal in these methods that is of value, it is generally the case that they do not go far enough. This shortcoming may be attributed in part to the failure to recognize that cross-cultural interference occurs at the literal as well as at the inferential level of meaning.

Allen (1956) and Marquardt (1967, 1969) are both interested in using literature to instill cultural insights. Marquardt's objective is the establishment of empathy between members of different social groups. There is some doubt that this can be achieved without a more rigorous program than he proposes. Allen views litera-

ture as a means of supplying substitute experiences in cultural activities which will support the acquisition of language, and presents a comprehensive means of analysis for identifying and thereby reducing cultural interference.

For the EFL/foreign language teacher, the implications seem clear. Reading in the target language will be most effective if materials, particularly those for beginning readers and those being read independently, are based on the native culture. If literature is going to be used to teach culture, a very thorough program is needed to provide background knowledge. Using such an approach, teachers can be guided to the sources of interference in texts and provide the instruction that will unlock the social-cultural meaning for their students.

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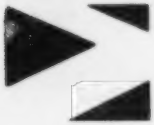

Appendix A

Data on Texts

	American	Indian
Length (words)	677	702
T-unit scores	12.6	12.56
Idea Units	136	127

Examples of Idea Units

American text

The minister/who performed the ceremony/was an old family friend.

Indian text

The auspicious time/told by the priest/was 9:38 in the morning.

Subjects' Mean Performance on Various Measures

Measure	Nationality			
	Americans		Indians	
	American Passage	Indian Passage	American Passage	Indian Passage
Time (seconds)	168	213	304	276
Gist recall	52.4	37.9	27.3	37.6
Elaborations	5.7	.1	.2	5.4
Distortions	.1	7.6	5.5	.3
Other Overt Errors	7.5	5.2	8.0	5.9
Omissions	76.2	76.6	95.5	83.3

Appendix B

Experimental Materials

American Text

Dear Gail,

I'm disappointed that you couldn't be at Pam's wedding. It was beautiful and everyone had a terrific time. Actually, it was surprising that the men were in such good shape because they had a stag party on Thursday and didn't get in until 3 a.m. After they had dinner at an Italian restaurant, they went to a couple of Greek bars, where several of them ended up doing folk dances. The belly dancer was tipped off and did a special number for George. Then on Friday night they had the rehearsal dinner, which lasted until almost midnight.

Did you know that Pam was going to wear her grandmother's wedding dress? That gave her something that was old, and borrowed, too. It was made of lace over satin, with very large puff sleeves and looked absolutely charming on her. The front was decorated with seed pearls. Apparently Pam's mother wore the gown, and Pam says if she has a daughter she'll insist that she wear it, too. (She'll be lucky if she can even get her daughter married, the way things are going.)

All the attendants wore dresses that were specially designed to go with Pam's. They were pale blue except for the maid-of-honor's, which was electric blue. They carried cascades of yellow roses and mums, while Pam's bouquet was lilies-of-the-valley. Her mother wore yellow, which looks great on her with her bleached hair, and George's mother wore pale green. George, his best man, and the ushers all wore the usual black tux.

Pam's niece was the flower-girl. She did a good job of scattering the rose petals until she saw her mother, but then she stopped and gave her a handful. George's nephew was ring-bearer. It was a double-ring ceremony, but George's ring was gold and Pam's was platinum, to match her engagement ring. Have you seen the diamond she has? It must have cost George a fortune becuase it's almost two carats.

Not many of his friends were able to come to the wedding since he's from California and it's such a long trip. The ushers seated some of the bride's friends on his side of the church so things wouldn't look off-balance. The minister who performed the ceremony was an old family friend. I thought Pam and George might write their own vows since so many couples do these days, but it was right out of the prayer book. Pam even promised to "love, honor, and obey!" Pam's mother looked misty-eyed during the ceremony, as did her father, but they both were happy by the end of the evening. They were talking about the exciting life that Pam will be leading as the wife of a man who does so much international traveling.

They had a big, fancy reception at the country club. There must have been over two hundred people there, and it went on until almost 4 a.m. There was lots of champagne, a five-course dinner, and a good band.

The only thing that really broke tradition was the wedding cake. It looked like the usual type, with several tiers and a bride and groom on top, but when George and Pam cut the first piece, everyone was amazed to see that it was devil's food. Pam said she really had a battle with her mother about it, and got her way only at the last minute when they were ordering it.

When the couple made their get-away, we threw rice and confetti at them. Two of Pam's cousins had "decorated" George's car with tin cans and George's brother took charge of writing all over it with soap. I guess they were expecting it since they didn't seem at all surprised. They only had to drive it to the airport, where they took a plane for Mexico. For their honeymoon, they're going to spend three weeks on the coast.

Guess who caught the bouquet? Barbara. I suppose that means that she'll be on husband number four soon. George's brother caught the garter.

I have to get back to my studying, so will say goodbye. Write soon.

Love,

Janet

Indian Text

Dear Meena,

We were all disappointed that you could not be at Prema's wedding. All the rest of our group was there, and many of her relatives and other friends.

As you know, the marriage was arranged only a month ago, and there really was not much time to get ready. Prema's sister was telling us that Prema's fiancé asked to see her a few times after the engagement. Prema's parents were not sure how they felt about that, but they allowed him to see her anyway. In this day and age, they were lucky that he even asked for their permission.

The wedding ceremony was a combination of old and new styles. They had retained some of the traditional rituals, but not all. It seems that Prema's mother-in-law wanted it that way. There was a verbal agreement about the gifts to be given to the in-laws, and what they asked for sounded reasonable. The women got saris, the men got sterling silver cups, and the youngsters got various other things. The groom was given a complete suit of clothes, a wristwatch and some other things. Prema's parents gave her several saris and some gold jewelry. The

in-laws gave her several more nice saris, a set of pearls, and some gold jewelry. Her wedding necklace is the traditional gold pendant and black beads on a gold chain, but her mother-in-law got a few pearls put in between the black beads, and that looks very pretty. Prema's in-laws seem to be nice enough people. They did not create any problem in the wedding, even though Prema's husband is their only son. Since they did not ask for any dowry, Prema's parents were a little worried about their asking for a scooter before the wedding, but they didn't ask for one.

The day before the wedding, there was the old-fashioned agreement ceremony where the in-laws were staying. Prema had to stay home, but all the rest of us went and looked the in-laws over! Prema's husband had to wear a dhoti for that ceremony and for the wedding the next day, and he was not used to it. His friends and sisters were teasing him that it was going to fall off when he stood up. Well, it didn't, neither that day nor the next day at the wedding. The wedding ceremony went all right. The auspicious time told by the priest was 9:38 in the morning. There were only the usual essential rituals: the curtain removal, the parents giving the daughter away, walking seven steps together, etc., and plenty of smoke from the sacred fire. You remember what Prema used to say, "it doesn't matter if you skip one of the rituals, but if you don't get smoke in your eyes, the wedding isn't complete." Well, she got plenty of it in her eyes, and someone caught her husband sneaking a handkerchief to her.

There must have been about five hundred people at the wedding feast. Since only fifty people could be seated at one time, it went on for a long time. The first batch with the groom and the important in-laws started at noon. Since we were the bride's party, and her close friends besides, we ate in the last batch with her parents. We barely had time to get dressed for the reception. There were a lot of people there, too. Prema's parents had decided to serve ice-cream for the reception, and everybody enjoyed it since it was a rather hot day.

That night there was the ceremony of Prema's entry into her new family. Her husband and in-laws picked "Uma" for her new name since her husband's family calls him "Shiva."

Two days after the wedding, Prema went to Nagpur. Her father-in-law has a house there, and she and her husband will be living there with his parents and two younger sisters. Prema's parents were very sad when she left. They were saying that now they know that everything that has been said over thousands of years about the sadness of giving a daughter away is true. We are all hoping that she does not have too hard a time adjusting to her new life.

Write soon.

Yours,

Leela

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The Application of Reading Miscue Analysis to Diagnosis of English as a Second Language Learners' Reading Skills

Ulla Connor

The practice of teaching English to English as a second language (ESL) learners has traditionally been dominated by the audiolingual methodology which presupposes that reading can be taught only after some fluency has been achieved in speech. However, there has recently been growing awareness that teaching reading should not wait until the student understands and speaks English (Saville-Troike, 1973). To choose approaches and methods to teach reading, ESL educators have consulted the extensive psycholinguistic research on teaching and testing reading among native speakers of English (Buck, 1973).

One of the new techniques that might be explored to evaluate the reading of ESL students is reading miscue analysis. "A miscue is any point in the oral reading where expected response does not match observed response" (Goodman & Burke, 1973, p. 25). Kenneth and Yetta Goodman developed this analysis to study the relationship of oral reading errors and comprehension. Reading miscue analysis is being used widely with native speakers of English, but its application and practical implications have not been examined adequately for use with ESL students. The present study was conducted to investigate the usefulness of miscue analysis as a tool for evaluating the reading ability and strategies of ESL learners with various first language backgrounds. The results of this study show that classroom and ESL teachers could use miscue analysis as an efficient diagnostic device to measure the reading strategies of ESL students and to provide suggestions for specific instruction by identifying problem areas.

The Goodman Model of Reading

During the last decade Kenneth and Yetta Goodman have, using reading miscue analysis, conducted several studies that examined children's oral reading. This empirical research led to the development of a basic theoretical view of the reading process. They view reading as a psycholinguistic process by which the reader, a language user, reconstructs a message which has been encoded by a writer as a graphic display. The reader's preexisting linguistic competence, experience, and conceptual development influence his use of reading strategies. These strategies include (a) sampling graphic, syntactic, and semantic cues; (b)

predicting both structure and meaning on the basis of these selected cues; (c) testing the prediction; and (d) either confirming that prediction or correcting it, if necessary.

Miscue Analysis Studies of ESL Reading

To study the observable reading behavior of ESL learners, Romatowski (1973) analyzed oral reading of three bilingual Polish-English fifth graders whose length of residence in the U.S. varied from one and a quarter years to three years. The subjects read two stories, one in English and one in Polish. The Goodman Taxonomy of Reading Miscues (Goodman & Burke, 1972b) was used to analyze the miscues. The study found no direct relationship between reading comprehension in English and (a) the total number of miscues, (b) the number of miscues per hundred words, or (c) the length of residency in the U.S. The quality of miscues generated by each subject and the retelling of the story, however, indicated that

1. The majority of the miscues remained uncorrected by the subjects, in both English and Polish.
2. Polish phonemes and syntax influenced the subjects' reading of English stories.

Although such results, based on three subjects, cannot be generalized, it is clear from this and other studies that miscue analysis provides a meaningful way to examine the reading of ESL students.

In 1977, Rigg reported the preliminary results of a larger descriptive study which analyzed the oral reading miscues of 48 students from four groups of ESL speakers: Arabic, Navajo, Samoan, and Spanish. The subjects were second, fourth, and sixth graders from schools where English was the sole medium of instruction. Except for some of the Arabic speakers, the subjects had received all reading instruction in English. These findings are suggested:

1. The subjects read better than is usually expected of ESL speakers, reading 80% of the text as it was printed.
2. The miscues often did not cause a meaning change.
3. The subjects showed ability and willingness to regress and correct their miscues.
4. Generally, there was more variation within each language group than between the groups.

Romatowski's (1973) and Rigg's (1977) conclusions appear to differ with respect to the subjects' correction strategies and the influence of their first language on reading miscues; this may be a result of small sample sizes. Both Romatowski and Rigg found miscue analysis to be an appropriate assessment device and recommended further studies of ESL oral reading, carried out on reading of English by subjects with differing language backgrounds.

The Present Study

The boys and girls in this study were ESL students in a high school in Madison, Wisconsin. The seven students in the study were all in their first year in an American school and in their second semester of ESL instruction. Table 1 presents data about characteristics of the subjects in the study. All the students had learned to read in their first language, unlike the subjects in Rigg's (1977) report. The subjects also had varying language backgrounds, unlike those in Romatowski's (1973) study.

The subjects in this study were expected to have interference in their oral reading from their native languages and cultures. This expectation led to predicted outcomes in the study. Linguistic predictions were derived from a basic book on the principles of contrastive analysis (Lado, 1957); the cultural expectations were generated by the investigator's experience with ESL students. These predictions were then matched with the types and categories of miscues, as outlined in the *RMI Manual* (Goodman & Burke, 1972a). The following specific outcomes were thus predicted:

1. The variation in miscues will be less among ESL students with similar language backgrounds than it is among different language backgrounds.
2. Since Vietnamese is a monosyllabic language and does not have grammatical endings, the Vietnamese subjects will have a high percentage of miscues in the grammatical categories of the RMI and will tend to omit or mispronounce the final parts of words. These miscues will not greatly weaken their comprehension scores.
3. Because Spanish is a phonemic language with regular letter-sound correspondences, the Spanish speaking subjects will have a high number of miscues in pronunciation and intonation due to interference from their first language. These miscues will be measured by the "sound similarity" and "graphic similarity" classification in the *RMI Manual*.
4. Further, it is expected that the Arabic and Persian subjects in this study will have a slower speed of reading than the other subjects. When learning English, Arabic and Farsi speaking students have to struggle with the different symbols and direction of writing.
5. In contrast with U.S. subjects, the subjects in this study will not attempt to correct their miscues. This may be due to their more authoritarian educational backgrounds which emphasize fluency in oral reading.
6. All miscues will not cause meaning change. The reviewed literature shows that children may mispronounce and/or omit many words while reading orally but still may understand what they have read.

The procedures followed the methodology explained in Goodman's modified taxonomy, *Reading Miscue Inventory* (RMI) (1972b), and in the report, *Theoretically Based Studies of Patterns of Miscues in Oral Reading Performance* (1973). Each student read one story in its entirety. (The stories were: "Hooked" and "Teen-Age Marriages" in *Six Impossible Things of The Kaleidoscope Readers* series; "Bill Evers and the Tigers" and "Why the Parrot Repeats Man's

Table 1
Data About Characteristics of the Subjects in the Study

Subject	Sex	Age (Years)	Grade	Native Tongue	Length of Residence in City Prior to Testing (Months)	Prior English Instruction
Student 1	M	16	10	Vietnamese	7	1 year
Student 2	F	17	9	Vietnamese	7	3 years
Student 3	M	16	10	Vietnamese	2	3 years
Student 4	F	16	10	Spanish	9	6 months
Student 5	F	15	10	Spanish	9	6 months
Student 6	M	16	11	Farsi	8	3 years
Student 7	F	18	12	Arabic	2	3 years

Words" in *Reading Miscue Inventory, Readings for Taping*.) The stories were chosen to be fairly difficult for the subjects so that some reading miscues would be generated. Some of the subjects read more than one story if the first text turned out to be too easy (the student made no miscues) or too difficult (the student was unable to continue reading independently).

The testing was conducted in March, 1976. Each reading session took from 30 to 60 minutes. Prior to the reading, the students were told that their oral reading would be taped for research purposes but that they would not be graded in the reading. Each subject understood that he or she would offer no help during the reading, and that questions would be asked about the content of the story after the reading. The atmosphere in the tapings was relaxed; most of the students enjoyed the extra attention and the opportunity to hear themselves later on the tape recording.

While each subject was reading, the investigator noted reading miscues on a duplicate manuscript. Then the subject was asked to retell the story in his/her own words. The investigator asked questions about the characters, events, plot, and theme of the story. The possible scores ranged from zero to 100 in this comprehension task.

After the experiment, the recordings were replayed until each miscue was identified and, using the marking system in the RMI, marked on the subjects' story sheets. Substitutions, omissions, insertions, repetitions, partial substitutions, and intonation shifts in the words were recorded after five to ten replayings of the tapes. The copies of the readers' miscues were then analyzed according to a modified code of the RMI taxonomy. Of the nine RMI categories (*RMI Manual*, 1972a, pp. 49-50), the following six questions were regarded as most relevant for the variables being examined:

1. Correction. Is the miscue corrected?
2. Sound similarity. How much does the miscue sound like what was expected? (In this study, the initial, medial, and final sound similarity of the miscue with the word in the text was recorded.)
3. Graphic similarity. How much does the miscue look like what was expected?
4. Grammatical function. Is the grammatical function of the miscue the same as the grammatical function of the word in the text? (In this study "grammatical similarity" was the term used for this category.)
5. Meaning change. Does the miscue result in a change in meaning?
6. Intonation. Is a shift in intonation involved in a miscue? (Based on Goodman & Burke, 1972b.)

As recommended in the *RMI Manual*, neither repeated miscues nor pauses were counted. The omission of inflected endings (e.g., plurals and tense markers) was a type of miscue that was coded as having "no grammatical similarity." These miscues, however, caused "no meaning change" with the expected responses. (Romatowski, 1973, calls these "dialect miscues"; Rigg, 1977, uses the term "ESL-miscues" for the same phenomenon.) According to the RMI, the first 25 miscues by each subject were analyzed in this study.

The numbers in Table 2 are percentages of miscues. In most columns ("correction strategy," "graphic similarity," "grammatical similarity," and "meaning change") the scores should add up to 100. Comprehension scores are also included on this table. The data shown in Table 2 indicate the following:

1. The variation in miscues was not lower within each language group than between the different groups. This concurs with Rigg's (1977) finding that differences between individuals within groups were greater than differences between groups.

2. The second prediction, that the Vietnamese subjects (1-3) will have a higher number of grammatical miscues (miscues with "no" in the "grammatical similarity" category), was not sustained. This unexpected accuracy may be due to the small sample size. Only Student Three performed as expected; all his scores demonstrate the pattern predicted from the Vietnamese group: no correction, high initial sound similarity, low final sound similarity, high graphic similarity, low grammatical similarity (since omissions of inflections were coded as miscues), and high percentages in the "no meaning change" column. The other Vietnamese students, Students One and Two, scored differently than predicted. For example, Student One, a good student whose study habits were exceptional, and who was very aware of the phonological and grammatical differences between Vietnamese and English, initially pronounced the endings while reading. Once begun, however, in his enthusiasm he lost his self-consciousness and omitted endings or pronounced them too weakly to be recorded, indicating interference from his first language.

3. The Spanish speakers' intonation miscues that did not result in meaning change were predicted, but were not as high in percentages as the unpredicted miscues of intonation among Arabic and Farsi speaking students.

4. With respect to the fourth expectation about the slow reading of the Arabic and Farsi speaking students, these students' taped readings were timed and compared to the Vietnamese students' readings. The Arabic and Farsi speaking students spent an average of 21 minutes to read the same story that Students One and Three, two Vietnamese students, read in an average of 11 minutes. While this comparison—involving only four subjects—cannot be generalized, it does indicate that the Arabic and Farsi speaking students may encounter more problems processing English than the Vietnamese students. Additional interference might be explained by different symbol systems and direction of writing.

5. As was expected, the subjects in this study did not attempt to correct their miscues. Looking at the column "correction strategy" we see that, with two exceptions, all the miscues went uncorrected. This result suggests that readers' miscues caused little meaning change.

6. The sixth expectation concerned the relationship between miscues and reading comprehension. The data show that "comprehension" scores, with the exception of those of one student (Student Two), seem to have a direct relationship with the scores under "none" in the meaning change column. Thus, all miscues do not cause meaning change.

Table 2
Percentages of the Subjects' Miscues Coded
According to a Modified Taxonomy

Subject	Correction Strategy		Sound Similarity			Graphic Similarity			Grammatical Similarity		Meaning Change			Intonation	Comprehension
	Yes	No	Init.	Med.	Final	High	Partial	None	Yes	No	High	Partial	None		
Student 1	—	100	28.6	28.6	35.7	92.3	7.7	—	64.3	35.7	14.3	7.1	78.6	—	75
Student 2	—	100	88.2	41.2	47.1	75	25	—	64.7	35.3	5.9	5.9	88.2	—	40
Student 3	—	100	100	23.5	5.9	94.1	5.9	—	18	82	—	24	76	—	60
Student 4	5.9	94.1	58.8	11.8	17.5	26.7	66.7	6.6	62.5	37.5	18	—	82	17.6	80
Student 5	—	100	56.2	37.5	25	50	41.7	8.3	31.3	68.7	37.5	6.3	56.2	6.25	60
Student 6	7.1	92.9	64.3	57.1	21.4	35.7	57.1	7.2	53.8	46.2	21.4	14.3	64.3	21.4	65
Student 7	—	100	57.1	57.1	64.3	42.9	35.7	21.4	54.1	45.9	35.7	21.4	42.9	21.4	50

Limitations of the Study

There are several limitations to this study. The first concerns its sampling method. Ideally, the ESL students tested for this research should have been randomly selected from among all ESL students in the U.S. schools. Therefore, to validate the results of this study, experiments using randomly selected samples of students in other ESL programs should be conducted. A second limitation is the small sample size and involvement of only three linguistic groups. Third, the method of coding is not rigorously verified since only one investigator decided on the miscues and their coding. Fourth, there was no control for differences in reading levels. If all the students had read an identical passage, comparisons could have been made between groups on their performance on the same task and a statistical procedure could have been applied to determine the significance of differences. While these limitations prohibit the generalizing of any of the results, it shall be noted that generalization was not a goal of this research. Rather the research showed how miscue analysis could successfully be applied to the examination and understanding of how ESL learners read.

Conclusion

This limited experiment shows that reading miscue analysis can be used to study ESL learners' reading behavior. The results also indicate that an ESL or classroom teacher may expect some interference in his/her students' reading skills attributable to the students' cultural or linguistic backgrounds (i.e., the Vietnamese students in this study tended to omit inflectional endings in their oral reading of English). However, the findings suggest that ESL learners' first language background may not significantly affect comprehension.

This research indicates that miscues causing lack of comprehension should be carefully distinguished from mere pronunciation errors. Therefore, more accurate ways should be sought to check readers' comprehension; fluent oral reading does not mean that the ESL learner understands what he/she is reading.

Since ESL instruction is often individualized or takes place in small groups, the reading miscue procedure could easily be used as a valuable reading assessment device. Additionally, instructional strategies can be developed for ESL students on the basis of results of RMI's. These strategies would focus on the psycholinguistic strengths of ESL students in developing proficiency in reading English.

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Alice Through the Looking Glass: Reading in Another Language

Marian Tyacke

At a recent TESOL Conference (Boston '79), a workshop given by Christopher Candlin was billed as "Working at Reading." Unless one had the prior knowledge that Candlin is a professor at the University of Lancaster, one might have been tempted to guess that he was about to discuss employment conditions at the University of Reading (England) rather than active participation in the reading process. In other words, very often the more information a reader brings to the situation, the more alternatives he must discard before he is able to make sense of the message. If he is a proficient reader, however, he will test his hypothesis by reading further, thereby confirming or revising it. In the case cited, the abstract that followed the title would have immediately resolved any ambiguity.

Consider the second language reader in the same situation. First, if he is not professionally involved in the ESL field, he is not likely to share the word knowledge that would allow two interpretations, nor is he likely to process "Reading" as a proper noun rather than a gerund. His sociolinguistic "limitations" would therefore restrict the number of alternatives, and, in this case, there probably would be no ambiguity to resolve. Unfortunately, if the other interpretation had been intended, a reading of the abstract would have resulted in bewilderment, and the reader would have been forced to rehypothesize on the basis of the new information. This, of course, can and does happen when reading in a first language, but for a proficient reader, such a misreading is the exception rather than the rule. When such occurrences become the rule rather than the exception, then extreme frustration must result.

When a proficient reader in a first language attempts to transfer his successful strategies to a second language, he is faced with an upsetting situation. In his own language, when he encounters new information, particularly in the form of a single lexical item, his natural instinct is to "fixate" (Smith's term, 1978, p. 40) in order to process that information. To make sense of it, he might use the surrounding text, recall a similar form, make a semantic link, or double-check with his knowledge of the real world, in a complex process which is mainly at a subconscious level. However, if the reader's knowledge of the new culture, the communicative rules, or the linguistic rules of the new language is deficient, then he is existing in a topsy-turvy world. The subconscious process breaks down and he is

forced to use conscious "replacement" strategies which inevitably dislocate the natural reading process. First, he may be forced to process by using syntactic and semantic rules consciously. At the same time, although he may be aware of the denotative value of a word, he may not be aware of its connotative value within the culture. He must, therefore, consciously sift through the sociocultural information he has at his disposal to make a judgment on a meaning within a text. Furthermore, because writers usually assume that they are writing for people within one culture, they will rely on shared assumptions and presuppositions which force the second language student into a situation where he must consciously infer from the surface text in order to fill in the gaps. These gaps would not even exist for the first language reader.

Smith suggests that even when reading a first language,

> Fluent readers may find themselves [unable to discern the words for the print] by being given difficult material to read, by being required to pay a lot of attention to every word, or by being put into a condition of anxiety, all of which increase the demand for visual information and have the paradoxical consequence of making it harder to see the text. (1978, p. 7)

Unfortunately, many of these problems are intensified in ESL classrooms. In the approach to reading that we have adopted, we have attempted to change this situation, and this will be described in more detail later.

All of the strategies the learner has acquired to read effectively, particularly in the area of using redundancy, or what he already knows, in order to conserve neural energy to process new information, are now in a sense reversed. When most of the information he encounters is new, he must then regress to an early developmental reading stage where he relies on the visual, rather than the non-visual. Apart from this dilemma, which is essentially a problem posed by the text itself (in that the learner is not aware of many of the orthographic, syntactic and semantic patterns that exist, and is therefore unable to make effective use of redundant features), he is faced with another even more serious problem. This relationship is also suggested by the work of Smith:

> One important factor that determines how much information a reader requires to make decisions is the readers' willingness to risk making mistakes. Readers who set a high criterion level for making decisions will find comprehension more difficult. (1978, p. 23)

In the past, ESL techniques in the reading classroom have often put the learner in that very situation. The teacher set a "high criterion level," for example, by demanding conscious recall of content or definitions of specific lexical items, thus making it impossible for the learner to risk making mistakes. He was not encouraged to guess, to predict, or to be wrong, but rather to read for total comprehension and accurate recall. He was thus unable to transfer his reading flexibility, his ability to choose from a repertoire of reading skills to cope with a specific reading task, to his new language environment.

In summary, the reader of a second language finds himself in the same position as a child learning his first language on the one hand, and yet he has to deliberately suppress effective strategies that he has already learned on the other. Because he is an adult he is less likely to take risks than a child, and this

tendency is probably strengthened by the ESL techniques he is exposed to. It seems important, then, to develop a reading program that takes his psycholinguistic quandary into account. In addition to adjusting to this psycholinguistic quandary, the second language reader has to make a social adjustment. He has to learn a whole new set of sociocultural rules. First, he may not be aware of the function of a particular communication. For example, when a person in North America receives a coupon which reads, "Save 25 cents," he knows he is not being given genuine advice, nor is he being ordered to do so. He knows immediately that someone is trying to sell him something and he reacts appropriately. His second-language friend may have to go through a painful sociolinguistic analysis to come to the same conclusion. Second, as Gillian Brown pointed out (1978), native listeners/readers are able to predict with reasonable accuracy what a speaker/writer is likely to say. In other words, before the interaction actually begins, the reader has set up a series of expectations that will help him to respond appropriately. He is thus able to give much more of his attention to the things that are not expected and to his own personal responses. While the second-language reader is grappling with the information in order to understand it, the native reader is already interacting with the information in a cognitive, affective, or physical response.

"Reading" is, in fact, only one part of a total communicative interaction. To take a common example, when we receive something in an envelope, many things are going to influence our reading of what it contains long before it is opened. First, the time of the communication is important. Was it part of a routine mail delivery, or was it slipped through the door at a non-routine time? Second, the place of the communication is also important. Was it delivered at home or at the office, etc.? Third, the actual physical shape is also part of the communicative act in that a buff envelope with "window" is going to arouse very different expectations from a pink, scented envelope with purple ink (Brown's example). Because of all of this extra information, the native reader knows, before he encounters the text, (a) whether he *wants* to read it or not, (b) whether he *needs* to read some or all of it, (c) how he is going to react to it emotionally, and (d) what degree of concentration he is going to need to make sense of it. And probably none of these are conscious decisions. In most traditional reading activities, the learner is exposed to the text first, and discussion of the sociocultural context (if it exists at all) follows. This pattern reverses the natural reading process, and deprives the second-language reader of a very valuable preliminary stage. Whereas the preliminary stage for the native reader, with his intuitive knowledge of the social rules of his society, will be carried out swiftly and without conscious effort, the same stage for the second-language reader will be much slower and will involve utilizing conscious links to establish a sociocultural perspective.

Recognizing, then, the disadvantage at which ESL readers may be found, in the reading courses at the University of Toronto (School of Continuing Studies), our main reading objectives are as follows:

1. to provide ESL readers with the same sets of communicative and linguistic alternatives they have for their first languages,
2. to provide ESL readers with a repertoire of reading skills, if they have not already developed them in their first language, or, to provide them with the

knowledge that will enable them to adjust the skills appropriately to the task, if they have already developed a repertoire in their first languages,

3. to provide ESL readers with relevant materials so that they may read "functionally" rather than engaging in a language decoding exercise,
4. to provide ESL readers with the confidence that will allow them to take risks and make mistakes,
5. to provide ESL readers with a set of "replacement" strategies that they must consciously deploy, rather than depend on the subconscious process used in reading their first languages, and
6. to develop in ESL readers a greater sensitivity to signals which will help in setting up expectations similar to those of their first-language counterparts in a specific reading situation.

The first objective (to provide learners with the same set of alternatives as in their first-language counterparts) is, of course, common to all language training programs; however, particular techniques used in the reading context include (a) making students aware of ambiguities at the sentence level, then providing a larger context so that the meaning can be resolved, and (b) introducing students to a wide range of texts, drawing attention to stylistic changes and their relationship to the communicative function of a text.

We attempt to fulfill the second objective (to provide a repertoire of skills appropriate to the task) by analyzing each student's first language reading habits in a simple procedure described at length in Tyacke and Saunders (1979). Briefly, the student indicates what he reads, why he reads it, and how he reads it, after being introduced to an explanation of five different reading skills: skimming, reading with focus, reading with total comprehension, critical reading, and scanning. He then compares his reading habits in his first language with his reading in his second language. At the same time, he indicates predicted second-language reading needs. The whole procedure is designed to develop in him an awareness of how he reads and how his reading objectives determine the particular set of skills and strategies he will use. Furthermore, it provides the teacher with the basis for a syllabus designed to meet the learner's needs, a syllabus design in which the learner has actively participated. The materials he is then exposed to are directly relevant to his needs (he may even provide them himself), thus helping to fulfill Objective 3, which is to have him read "functionally" rather than as a language decoding exercise. For example, he reads a menu to choose a meal, a set of directions to perform a task, a textbook to perform an experiment or write a report. As Widdowson says:

> Passages have to engage the learner's interest and impress him as being in some way relevant to his concerns, and the passages should draw upon and extend the learner's knowledge of usage while at the same time developing his knowledge of use, thus deriving reading ability from the comprehending skill. (1978, p. 90-91)

Reading, then, becomes a communicative act rather than an empty language exercise.

Even when acts are relatively trivial, they can provide very valuable reading activities. In our Intensive Programs, for example, students can help plan their own extracurricular outings by selecting from lists of activities, calendars of

events, theatre reviews, restaurants, etc. They have very specific goals in mind, and their success can be clearly measured. In a more academic situation, students are encouraged to bring in their own texts so that any reading activity (such as reading for the main idea, or critical reading) can be immediately applied to a research project in which they are currently involved. All of this argues against the prepackaged reading comprehension exercise. In essence, then, students practice strategies and learn a set of skills which they can apply to a wide variety of texts.

To achieve Objective 4, to bolster the reader's confidence, it is often necessary to remove the source of his insecurity (the teacher) from center stage and allow him to interact with the text with as little outside monitoring as possible. At the same time, techniques designed to motivate him to construct his own questions and seek his own answers can be applied. For example, the teacher can supply a class with a general topic that most of them will know something (but not too much) about (U.F.O.'s, crocodiles, etc.). Working in groups, students pool information, writing down (a) facts they are sure about, (b) things that they are not absolutely sure about, and (c) questions they would like to have answered. After a great deal of information exchange and argument, the students are given a text dealing with the topic and usually read avidly to check their "facts" and answer their questions. In this kind of situation, the learner is much more likely to take risks and make mistakes, as long as the teacher doesn't spoil it by attempting to check his information. Also, students working in pairs and groups can do a great deal of effective contextualizing in cloze type activities used as an exercise, not a test. This type of activity done in pairs is less threatening and more conducive to risk-taking than the traditional comprehension exercise. Answers can be taped in context to reinforce listening skills (which are, in effect, similar to reading skills), or handed out to the students so that they are able to check them without the teacher's help.

With such activities, our program leads up to Objective 5, providing the learner with a set of "replacement" strategies that he must consciously deploy in order to read a second language. The learner is engaged in activities that involve predicting, recalling, inferencing, contextualizing, comparing, categorizing, etc. For example, a contextualizing activity such as the following could be developed. Students form small groups with an appointed leader. Each leader receives a scrap of paper with a single sentence on it with *one* key word deleted, e.g., "I had no idea that _____did things like that." Students must then use their syntactic and semantic knowledge to suggest a list of appropriate insertions to their leader. After a specific time, they receive a second scrap of paper with a consecutive sentence on it, e.g., "After all, you wouldn't expect it from people in their position." Students are then expected to delete and/or add items to the list on the basis of this new information. The process continues with other sentences handed out one at a time. ("One of the main problems seems to be a lack of communication." "It would help if they could speak the languages of the community they serve." "Also, if they walked the beat, rather than drove, they would have more direct contact with people.") The process continues until the students have deleted all but one possibility. This helps to train them to read on when they encounter an unfamiliar lexical item, rather than to backtrack or to look immediately for a dictionary.

Prediction activities could include the following. Students choose from a variety of magazines and *scan* the "Contents" section. They then write down or discuss what they think they will find in the article. They then *skim* the article chosen to determine whether their predictions were correct. Another simple activity for elementary students involves giving out one chapter of a murder mystery at a time. They are then asked to predict what will happen in the next chapter rather than report on the one they have just read, which is what is traditionally done.

An inferencing activity for more advanced students could be developed as follows. A controversial text can be chosen from a newspaper. Students can first use the headline to predict the author's attitude or intent. They can then skim the story to confirm or revise predictions. A specified section can be used to focus on the connotations of key vocabulary in order to further examine the author's attitude or bias. They then can judge which parts are fact, opinion, or hearsay and argue their opinion with others in the class. In this way, they share the information they bring to the situation. They also can be asked to evaluate the effect of any pictures or diagrams that accompany the text. Finally, they can make a judgment as to what the overall function of the text was: to inform or to persuade.

Students in our program are constantly asked to become consciously aware of the strategies they use while performing a specific reading task.[1] A technique with a similar goal is to provide the learner with a set of symbols (which he jots down quickly as he reads) indicating specific reactions to the text, such as, agree/disagree (A/D), doublecheck (DX), etc. Where comprehension breaks down, the learner indicates with a question mark (?) but is encouraged to read on rather than to backtrack. If, after completing the passage, there are still questions in his mind which are relevant to his performing a particular task rather than simply a need to understand meaning in isolation, then he may try more specific discourse analysis techniques (e.g., explicitly analyzing logical relationships between sentences, looking at markers of cohesion, etc.) to make sure of the message. For example, he can be trained to find specific markers of syntactic and lexical cohesion that can aid him in his task. When markers are not overt (usually not a major problem in written discourse, unless it is a play or poem), and the learner is forced to draw inferences using his knowledge of the situation (social and psychological) to supply the coherence and to interpret the utterance in the way it was meant by the writer, he can be asked to supply a coherently explicit discourse by rewriting the original text in terms of its underlying functions.[2] For example, the student might produce from the following text:

Speaker A	"You're sitting in my chair."
Speaker B	"So what."
Speaker A	"Oh, forget it."

"The first speaker accuses the second of taking his chair. The second refuses to give it up. The first decides not to fight about it."

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[1] This technique was demonstrated by Candlin in his workshop "Working at Reading," TESOL, 1979.

[2] For further elaboration of this point, see Widdowson (1978, pp. 26-29).

Our final Objective 6, developing expectations similar to those of the first-language reader, is perhaps our greatest challenge. To accomplish this objective effectively, the reader must possess a sophisticated awareness of the sociocultural context in which the communicative act takes place. As Gillian Brown has pointed out, one of the main tasks of the reading/listening teacher is to teach the culture.[3] It is, of course, very tempting to concentrate our students' efforts and our own on analyzing the text itself as it is safely confined to the printed page. As I have already stated, this is by no means overlooked, but it should not be done at the expense of activities that will help students form a sociocultural perspective. We believe that students should be exposed to a variety of real texts rather than artificially created reading textbooks to achieve this perspective. (However, some textbooks, such as *Reader's Choice*, Baudoin et al., 1977, are to be commended for having included a variety of representative texts.) We use newspapers, magazines, and contemporary literature, often supplied by the students themselves, in our reading classes, and spend some time on cultural comparisons before reading the text itself. For example, when discussing a story on the front page of a local newspaper, students first indicate what they would normally expect to find on the front page of a newspaper in their own culture. Very often there are significant differences which would interfere with the student's interpretation of the text. For the same reason, it is important to discuss what the second-language reader expects of a particular genre before approaching a text exemplifying it (for example, the short story, the legal contract, etc.). Also, we spend time on analyzing formulaic language needed for particular genres, such as invitations, greeting cards, and business letters, since these too can reveal very important aspects of our culture.

In conclusion, in all of our activities, we attempt to focus the learner's attention on the process, not the product. In so doing, we hope to help them overcome the problems inherent in learning to read a second language by training them to recognize the nature of the reading activity, to consciously choose the reading skills appropriate to the activity before they begin, and to consciously use appropriate strategies when engaging in the reading activity. Most importantly, we encourage our ESL readers to use information obtained from the reading to perform a specific task, one which is a natural consequence of the communicative function of the original text.

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Theoretically Based Second Language Reading Strategies

Louise Renault

An understanding of the theories and current research in reading can help the ESL teacher in two major ways: first, it can help the teacher understand why certain instructional techniques are or are not effective, and second, it can help the teacher design new or alternative techniques. This monograph has presented some of the most recent theories and research about reading in an ESL class. The application of these theories to designing effective instructional techniques has been fairly minimal. A number of instructional strategies have been developed by Goodman and Burke (1980) and others (Crafton, Hill, House and Kucer, 1980) and some of these strategies are, with modifications, applicable to the ESL classroom.

This paper presents a series of such theoretically based instructional strategies which reflect specific underlying assumptions about reading and second language acquisition. They have been used successfully by teachers to help both young children and adults. These strategies are described in general terms so that the teacher, by keeping in mind the underlying theoretical assumptions, can proceed to adjust the specific techniques to fit the background and needs of the learners as well as the context of the classroom situation. Six assumptions about reading and second language learning underlie these strategies:

1. Reading is both a perceptual process and a conceptual process. Meaning is supplied by the reader as he or she processes the symbolic system by relating it to experiences and conceptual structures. (Dechant, 1976)

2. Reading is a process in which the reader is continuously predicting, sampling, selecting and confirming predictions using information from the graphophoemic, syntactic and semantic systems. (Goodman, 1974)

3. The reading process is the same process across languages; that is, the reading process is not different for different languages. (Goodman, 1971)

4. Reading, as well as spoken language, moves from a global understanding to more refined capabilities of dealing with more specific forms of language in syntactic and phonological systems. (Smith, 1975)

5. By the very nature of the terms, the second language learner has already acquired the language process. (Corder, 1973)

6. Since the semantic base of language is not necessarily language specific (Kolers, 1966), learning a second language is learning an alternative syntactic and phonological system.

Strategy 1—Predictable Stories and Mixed Text

Background Concept

The ESL teacher who wants to focus on predicting and confirming strategies in reading often has difficulty finding suitable materials that will be supportive of these strategies. A story with a structure familiar to the reader becomes supportive to making predictions and confirming hypotheses based on the semantic language system. Predictable stories provide this type of structure. A predictable story contains (a) episodes that are highly related, often through repetion of similar events (for example, see Figure 1), and (b) a goal that is immediately apparent. Since the nature of the interrelated episodes calls for frequent repetition of language patterns and words, the reader can more easily predict the syntax and the lexicon being used.

Criteria:

1. Episodes strongly related through similar events.
2. Goal usually apparent immediately

Little Red Hen

1. Characters appear in all the episodes, little red hen, the dog, the cat, and the pig.
2. Goal is making and eating the tortillas.
3. Episodes—Repetitive syntax and lexicon

Attempt	Consequences
"Who will. . .	"Not I" said the
dry corn"	cat
grind corn"	dog
cook tortillas"	pig
eat tortillas"	

Figure 1. Example: Predictable Stories

An ESL reader reading a predictable story can be provided with additional support by using a mixed text version of the story. The beginning of the story is written in the reader's native language. The story scheme becomes evident as he

or she encounters the setting, goal, and characters. The reader begins to predict not only the repetitive elements of the scheme, but also the exact phrases employed in telling the story. Then, after he begins to predict the repetitive syntactical and semantical elements in his native language, he begins to encounter the English equivalents (see Figure 2, for example).

La pequeña gallina roja encontró una mazorca de maiz. Era corn fresco.

La pequeña red gallina dijo:
—"Quién secará la mazorca of corn?"

"Yo no!" dijo el gato.

"Yo no!" said el cerdo.

"Not I!" said the dog.

The little red gallina said:
—"Yo si!" Y así lo hizo.

The little red hen said:
—"Quién molerá el maiz?"
—"Yo no!" said el gato.

"Not I!" said the pig.
"Not I!" said the dog.

The little red hen said:
"I will!" Y así lo hizo.

The little red hen said:
—"Who hará las tortillas?"

"Not I!" said the cat.
"Not I!" said the pig.
"Not I!" said the dog.

The little red hen said:
—"I will!" And she did it.

"Quién comerá las tortillas?"
Preguntó the little red hen.

"I will" said the pig.
"I will" said the dog.
"I won't" said the cat, "No me gustan las tortillas."

The little red hen said:
"I will eat them!" and she did.

Figure 2. Example: Mixed Text, Predictable Story

Because of the highly predictable story structure, the reader can predict the concepts that the English syntax and lexicon convey. He knows the ideas that are supposed to be there and knows that the English words are conveying those ideas. Thus, he meets the English in a very supportive context that allows him to

identify the words based on the meaning. Rather than preteaching vocabulary, vocabulary is acquired in the process of interacting with the print.

The reader learns the item in context and usually encounters it several times in the predictable structure of the text. The native language is gradually decreased. The first time an item appears it is in the native language. The second time the item appears in English with the native language surrounding it. This pattern facilitates the reader's understanding of the item since he can readily perceive how the item relates to the context of the whole story. The third time the pattern is encountered in a print setting that contains additional English. Since the reader is already familiar with the underlying concepts, the lexicon and syntax present little or no problem.

If this format is used with a variety of stories, items can often be introduced for the first time in a story in the native language. English can be used in subsequent stories because of the predictability and familiarity of the structure in the stories. For example, the initial protocol of many stories in English is "once upon a time." This phrase only appears once in each story and always in the same place, but its literal meaning is obscure. By using the native language equivalent once, then using the English equivalent in subsequent stories, the reader can internalize the whole structure in relation to its function within the story rather than trying to "translate" it.

Instructions

First the teacher must select a predictable story. Then the mixed text version needs to be prepared making sure that prior context will support the meaning of the items that are introduced in English. (see Figure 3: Procedure)

In presenting a mixed text lesson, the pacing of the various activities involved, as well as the number of the activities, is often dictated by whether or not the student is literate in his first language. If the reader is learning to read and learning English simultaneously, his task is more formidable and he will need time to learn to read as well as to learn English. Therefore, more time will probably be spent with the text and the follow-up activities.

After the story has been presented in the mixed text and then in the English version, various follow-up activities can be used. As examples, each student can illustrate the story, or the story can be used as the basis for a group or individual language-experience story.

Another follow-up activity consists of presenting the students with the story in which specific words have been deleted. The student has to fill in a meaningful word; the predictability of repetitiveness helps the student choose a meaningful item to insert. This selected deletion activity, which is explained in more detail later in this article, helps the reader learn the specific form of the lexicon and syntax in a meaningful context.

A. Preparing the Text

1. Pick a predictable story.
2. Have available a native language version of the story.
3. Underline repetitive patterns in the story.
4. Choose a word that appears in each of the following patterns.
5. On the second occurrence of the pattern, substitute an English word for the native language word in the pattern.
6. On the third occurrence of the pattern, substitute another English word in the pattern.
7. Continue this procedure until the entire pattern is in English.
8. Choose another pattern in the story and repeat 5, 6, and 7.
9. Now rewrite the story in a mixed text format (see Little Red Hen).

B. Presentation of the Story

1. Introduce the mixed text to the readers with an overhead or on a printed sheet.
2. Read the story aloud to the students.
3. Students then read the text silently. The students *Should Not* read the mixed text orally.
4. Give the students the complete English text to read silently.

C. Follow-up Activities

1. Language experience story
2. Selected deletion
3. Puppet shows
4. Impromptu drama
5. Write a new version of the story.

Figure 3. Procedure: Predictable Stories and Mixed Text.

Since the episodes are highly related and the lexicon and syntax are predictable, similar stories with similar patterns can be generated by both the teacher and the students (see Figure 4). This recurring usage gives the students additional opportunities for learning the lexicon and syntax of English in meaningful encounters with print based on their prior knowledge.

The little white lamb found an ear of corn. The little white lamb asked, "Who will dry the ear of corn?" "Not I!" said the gray rabbit. "Not I!" said the red squirrel. "Not I!" said the brown deer. The little white lamb said, "I will!" and she did.

Figure 4. The Little White Lamb.

Conclusion

Two basic premises underlie this strategy. One is that the first and second language are semantically acquired. The other is that second language acquisition is the extension and expansion of language that has already been acquired. Frank Smith (1975) and John MacNamara (1972) see meaning preceding the acquisition of lexicon and syntax in first language acquisition. This concept has been applied to learning to read in a second language by helping the students understand what is being read before they meet the specific words and syntax that contain the meaning.

Strategy 2—Selected Deletions

Background Concept

The selected deletion technique develops students' ability to predict by giving them the opportunity to use both their prior language experiences and their semantic knowledge in making predictions. It can be successfully used as a follow-up activity after silent reading of material. In other strategy lessons presented in this article, the beginning reader has been seen as bringing meaning to the print in order to understand the conventions of the surface structures of the written language. As the student does this, he is acquiring a reservoir of meaningful experiences with print. In a selected deletion activity he begins to utilize those experiences. In this activity, the reader goes from broad general understandings in reading new materials and proceeds to elaborate and differentiate the finer details of the surface structure by predicting specific words and by writing them in the blanks. Here, the semantic base interacts with the specific form helping the student learn how to produce the surface structure in context.

Instructions

A story that has been previously read is selected in English. The teacher proceeds to select for deletion items that the student can readily predict based on prior context. For example, in Figure 5, the main character of the story is the little red hen. By the time the first blank appears, "hen" has already appeared twice in the text. The student is already familiar with the story and knows the character and easily predicts that "hen" will follow the two adjectives "little" and "red." Here, the student has to write the specific form for the word that is already known. The form is in the text. Further on, the two adjectives "little" and "red" will be deleted so that the reader/writer will have to produce the surface form for what is already familiar. The text will again provide the model if needed.

Syntactic patterns can also be chosen in this manner. The future tense is used in context throughout this story. "Who *will* dry the ear of corn?" Later the hen replies "I will." The "will" in both these patterns are deleted from the story at various points. The student can then predict these patterns as well as learn to write them in a meaningful context.

The Little Red Hen

The little red hen found an ear of corn. The little red _____ said, "Who will dry the ear of _____ ?" "Not I!" said the cat. "Not _____ !" said the dog. "Not I!" _____ the pig. The little _____ hen said, "I will," and she did. The _____ red hen said, "Who will grind the ear of _____ ?" "Not _____ !" said the cat. "Not I!" _____ the dog. "_____ _____ !" said the pig. The little red hen said, "I _____ !" and she did. The little _____ _____ said, "Who will make the tortillas?" "_____ !" said the cat. "Not I!" said the _____. "Not I!" _____ the pig. The little red hen said, "Who _____ cook the tortillas?" "Not I!" said the cat. "Not I!" said the _____. "Not I!" said the pig. The little red hed said: "I _____ !" And she did it. "_____ will eat the tortillas?" asked the little red hen. "I will!" said the pig. "I _____ !" said the dog. "I won't!" said the cat, "I don't like tortillas." The little red hen said, "I will eat them!" and she did.

Figure 5. Example: Selected Deletions

The instructor is free to focus on whatever elements he or she wants (see Figure 6: Procedure). After doing this activity, the completed texts can be read in class with the students discussing their answers and the reasons for their choices. The instructor, by looking at the student's choice, can gain information about the types of strategies the students use. This information can help in planning of further lessons.

A. Preparation

1. Choose an English text the students have already read.
2. Leave the first paragraph or so intact. (If a predictable story is used leave the first instance of the pattern intact.)
3. Go through and underline the words you want deleted.
4. Type up English text with blanks.

B. Presentation

1. Give students the selected deletion to fill in.
2. Tell them to fill in the blanks with a word that makes sense.

C. Follow-up

1. Have students read their choices in class.
2. Have students discuss their choices in class.

Figure 6. Procedure: Selected Deletions

Strategy 3—Listening and Reading Simultaneously

Background Concept

Listening and reading simultaneously enables the student to listen to a passage and see the text at the same time. This allows him to use both oral and printed language to predict, confirm and comprehend the text. In this way the oral and printed language become mutually supportive. Additionally, a reservoir of oral and written language experiences is developed from which the student can draw to make further predictions and confirmations.

Instructions

The student listens to a tape of the story in English while she reads the story (see Figure 7: Procedure). A variety of supportive follow-up activities such as selected deletion activities or written retellings of the story can be used effectively with this strategy.

A. Preparation

1. Choose a story in English.
2. Prepare tape (or use a commercial tape of the story) in English.

B. Presentation

1. Choose a supportive introduction to the story such as suggested in the section on developing semantic background for a story.
2. Play the tape for the individual, small group or class.
3. Have students follow along as the tape is being played.

C. Follow-Up Activities

1. Selected deletion activity.
2. Students can reread selection silently.
3. Students can do a written retelling of the story.

Figure 7. Procedure: Listening and Reading Simultaneously

Strategy 4—Mixed Text Writing: Keeping a Journal

Background Concept

Just as mixed-text reading material can be used as a supportive tool for making the transition to reading in English, mixed text writing can be used as a tool for making the transition to writing in English. In this activity, the focus is on helping students express meaning and to use their native language when they do not know the lexical item or are unfamiliar with the needed syntactical structures in English. By allowing them to use their own language while supplying as many items in English as possible, the focus remains on the meaning of the message. The meaning is not disrupted by the student's inability to express that message or

segments of that message in English. Since the purpose and the form of journal writing are personal, the student is permitted to focus on the function of writing rather than the form. Journal entries are written for the students themselves, thus relieving them of worrying about "how it looks" to others.

Instructions

First, a discussion of the function of keeping a journal is presented (see Figure 8: Procedure). The emphasis is on encouraging the students to communicate. It is stressed that the teacher does not judge or correct the spelling, punctuation, or even the syntax. Function takes precedent over form. For students to be encouraged to write about what is important to them, they need to know and trust that the instructor will not share with anyone else what is written. The instructor presents an entry from "his" journal written in mixed text to illustrate what he means by the assignment. A sheet of paper with the instructor's comments on the content can be included in each journal to demonstrate the instructor's interest about the topics, and encourage the students to continue writing.

A. Preparation

1. Instructor prepares a mixed text entry in his journal.
2. An overhead is prepared of this entry to show the students.
3. Have class acquire a journal. This may be done either by purchasing a book or making one in class.

B. Presentation

1. Discuss the function of a journal.
2. Discuss the differences between function and form.
3. Stress non-judgmental nature of the assignment.
4. Share overhead with the class.
5. Give the class time to write first entry in their journal.

C. Follow-up

1. Give students time in class to write in their journals.
2. In reading their journals write on a sheet of paper comments relating to content of entries.

Figure 8. Procedure: Mixed Text Writing: Keeping a Journal

Initially, there might be a short period of time each day set aside for writing. Later, once a week might be sufficient to encourage students to continue writing.

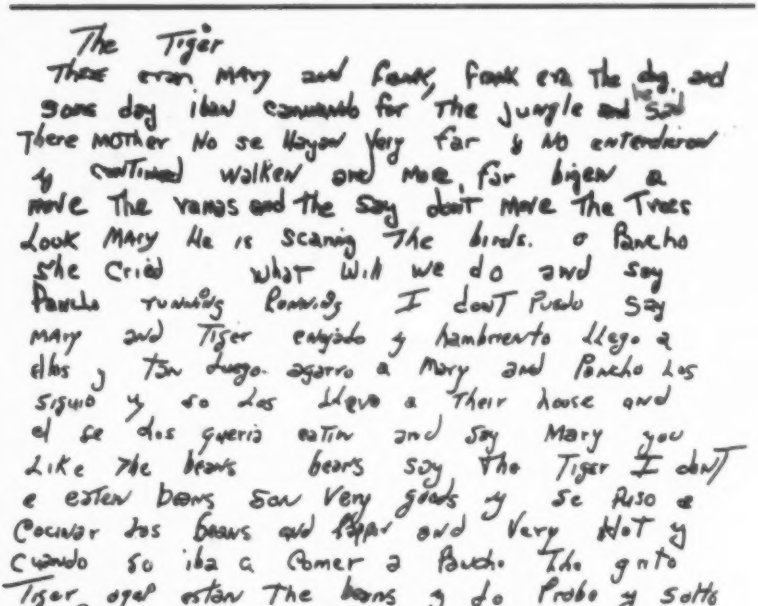
Strategy 5—Mixed Text Writing—Written Retellings

Background Concept

Written retellings using mixed text gives the student a vehicle to express what he or she understands without feeling inhibited by lack of mastery of English lexicon and syntax. The beginning second language reader may often understand a story but not be able to express it in English. By letting students write what they understand in a mixed text they are given the opportunity to use the English they know while focusing on what they understand. Where the students do not have sufficient knowledge of English, they can use their own language. The function and understanding of language is paramount and the specific forms of language are seen as developing in order to better support the function and meaning.

Instructions

This is used as a follow-up activity after silently reading an English text. The students are asked to write everything they remember about the story after they have finished (see Figure 9: The Tiger). They are told to write as much as possible in English, but they may use their native language if they are unable to


The Tiger
There evan Mary and Frank, Frank era The dog. and
Some day iban caminando for The jungle and Sad
There MOTHer No se Hayan very far y NO entendieron
y continued walken one More, for bigen a
move The vanas and The say dont Move The Trees
Look Mary He is scaning The birds. o Pancho
She Cried what Will we do and say
Pancho running Running I dont Pueds Say
Mary and Tiger enjoido y hambriento llego a
ellos y Tan luego agarro a Mary and Pancho Los
siguio y so los lleve a Their house and
el se dos queria eatin and say Mary you
Like The beans beans say The Tiger I dont
e esten beans Son Very goods y se Puso a
Cocinar los beans and Paper and Very Hot y
Cuando so iba a Comer a Pancho The gnto
Tiger oyal estan The beans y do Probo y Sotto
a Pancho and say The Tiger Never Voy a
esten MOS People y and

Horacio

Figure 9. Example of Mixed Text Writing

express themselves in English. This gives the students an opportunity to express what they understand without worrying about the form they use (see Figure 10: Procedure).

A. Preparation

1. Choose a story to be read by the class.

B. Presentation

1. Tell the students that after they read the story they are to write everything they can remember about the story.
2. Tell the students to write as much as they can in English, but if they don't know the English to write using their native language.

C. Follow-up

1. The students' retellings can be given to other students in the class to read.

Figure 10. Procedure: Mixed Text Writing: Written Retellings

Strategy 6—Developing Semantic Background for a Story

Background Concept

By developing the semantic background of a story, the teacher helps the student prepare a framework or schema for the story. The reader, by having an overview of the story and understanding the concepts involved, can use this information to deal more effectively with specific forms of the lexicon and syntax. In this technique, the students have a thorough understanding of the story and the elements in the story before they encounter the story in print. This is a good technique to use to help prepare a student for a story in a basal reader.

Instructions

First, tell the story to the students in their own language, if possible. Then tell or read the story in English to the students. Be sure that they understand the concepts involved (see Figure 11). On the same or a subsequent day, the students can dictate a language experience story or even write their own in English. These are ways in which to introduce the students to all the important concepts and important vocabulary in context before they read the story. Then the students are presented with the text to be read silently. Through the previous activities the students have the semantic information needed to make meaningful predictions about the syntax and the lexicon. They also have the semantic information to help confirm their predictions.

First Day:

1. Tell the story in the native language using the pictures of the text as an outline for the story.
2. Develop the concepts involved in wind-up machinery
   a. Get an old broken wind-up clock
   b. Take it apart in class
   c. Show the mainsprings and wind-up mechanism
   d. Also show screwdriver and oil can
   e. Discuss the mechanism and how it works
      1. Use the native language with English words for technical items
      2. Use English for other items
3. Write a group experience story in English based on the demonstration.

Second Day:

1. Read group language experience story from the day before.
2. Retell the story in English as the students follow the story by looking at the pictures.
   a. As you tell the story, be sure to include difficult phrases and concepts.
   b. Often use easier phrase with more difficult while telling the story, e.g., "Billy is supposed to *amuse* his sister by keeping her *happy*."

Third Day:

1. Have the students tell you the story by using the pictures in the book.
2. Alternatively, have the students write the story, using the pictures in the book.

Fourth Day:

1. Have the students read the story silently.

Figure 11. Developing semantic background for a story—example[1]

[1] Lesson plan based on "Fats, The Big Operator" by Marian Holland in *Fiesta*, published by Houghton Mifflin.

This type of preparation before reading enables the students to read the story with understanding and gives them information and experiences from the listening and reading activities to help them figure out the difficult parts of the text (see Figure 12: Procedure).

A. Preparation

1. Choose a story in English to be used.
2. Prepare a native language version of the story to be told or read to the students. This is not a verbatim translation.

B. Presentation

1. First tell the story to the students in their own language if possible.
2. Tell or read the story to the students in English.
3. Develop difficult concepts of the story in English for the students.
4. Have the class dictate or write the story in English as a language experience story.
5. Give the students the text in English to read silently.

C. Follow-up Activities.

1. Have the students write what they remember about the story.
2. Have the students write a summary of the story.
3. Have the students do a selected deletion version of the story.
4. Have the students act out the story.

Figure 12. Procedure: Developing semantic background for a story.

Strategy 7—Synonym Substitution

Background Concept

Synonym substitution is based on the concept that the semantic base of language is not language specific. This instructional strategy focuses on reading a text in which a difficult or unknown word meaning is understood by using the context available and by using the students' knowledge of their native language. This helps develop flexibility between languages and emphasizes the need to make sense out of what is read.

Instructions

An English text is chosen or written by the instructor. From this text a word which has several synonyms, or a word which can generate a variety of meaningful substitutions, is selected. A good example of this is a sentence in "The Story of Ferdinand" (see Figure 13). It reads, "He had a favorite spot out in the *pasture* under a cork tree." There are several words, such as *flores*, *hierba*, and *grass*, that could be meaningfully substituted within the context of the story.

The Story of Ferdinand

meadow
hierba
flores
grass
pasto

Once upon a time in Spain there was a little bull and his name was Ferdinand. All the other little bulls he lived with would run and jump and butt their heads together, but not Ferdinand. He just liked to sit quietly and smell the flowers. He had a favorite spot out in the *pasture* under a cork tree. It was his favorite tree and he would sit in the shade all day and smell the flowers.

triste
disconteto
unhappy

Sometimes his mother, who was a cow, would worry about him. She was afraid he would be *lonesome* all by himself.

Figure 13. Example of synonym substitution (Overhead for class)

The words at the left were substitutes suggested by the class during the exercise.

An overhead is prepared in English with as much context as possible (see Figure 14: Procedure). The text is read to the class. Then the teacher rereads the text to the end of the sentence with the italicized word. The class is then asked to think of other words in their native language or in English that make sense. These words are written on the side of the overhead and then the sentence is read using each of the substitutions. The students are asked if the sentence makes sense. Although it appears that the students are encouraged to translate that is not the case. The students are being forced to make sense of the encountered item by using their language experiences in their first language and in English to find meaning.

A. Preparation

1. Select an English text to be read.
2. Select a word or words that have several meaningful alternatives in the text or has several synonyms.
3. Make an overhead using as much of the context as possible.
4. Underline the words.
5. Leave a wide margin on the left of the overhead to write suggested substitutions.

B. Presentation

1. Read the entire text to the class from the overhead.
2. Reread to the end of the sentence with the underlined word.
3. Ask the class for another word that would fit in the sentence in place of the underlined word.
4. Solicit responses in both the native language and English.
5. Write the responses on the side of the overhead.
6. Have the students read the sentences with the substitution.
7. Ask the students if the sentence makes sense.
8. Continue until all the underlined words have been dealt with.

Figure 14. Procedure: Synonym substitutions.

Conclusion

Since the reader is encouraged to make sense of the reading regardless of the specific language used, this strategy builds on the fact that the semantic base is not language specific. Here the reader uses the language information in both his native language and English to supply an acceptable surface structure for his semantic construct.

Conclusion

The focus of these strategies has been on the use of the semantic system by the second language reader in learning to read English. This is NOT because

reading is viewed as a top down process, but because this is the strongest and most functional system that the second language reader has access to. The second language reader already has access to a great deal of information about the semantic system. If he reads in his first language he already has acquired the reading process. What he does not know about the second language is the lexicon, syntax, and perhaps the orthography. By focusing on the semantics the students are gaining experiences with the other systems in a meaningful context. It also helps the reader learn how to use the other systems in an interactive manner. These instructional techniques focus on what the reader already knows about the process and then uses this to aid learning to read.

These techniques do not encompass a complete curriculum but are presented to help spark the teacher to look at underlying theoretical considerations when formulating instruction. By beginning with a good understanding of the reading process, a teacher can develop and modify many more strategies for effective classroom use.

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Beginning to Read in English the LEA Way

Pat Rigg

Two assumptions, one about language and one about reading, provide the basis for the language experience approach (LEA) to reading. The first assumption is that language is a meaningful whole; if it gets broken into little pieces, it is not language anymore. A full, clear explanation of this view can be found in Burke (1972). The second assumption is that reading is a language process and, as a part of language, it too must always be a meaningful whole (Goodman, 1976). From these assumptions comes the basic technique, which uses the student's ideas and the student's language in the preparation of beginning reading materials. The student decides what he or she wants to say and how to say it, and then dictates that to the teacher, who acts as a scribe. Numerous boooks and articles on LEA for students beginning to read in their native language are available; one of the most recent is Van Allen and Allen's *Language Experience Activities* (1976) which has 250 different activities for native English speakers. In this article I want to suggest how LEA can be used with students who are beginning to read in English as a second language (ESL).

First, a sample LEA lesson will be described, then some of the possible variations on the basic technique, and different ways to elicit LEA materials will be outlined. Finally, one or two of the problems will be discussed.

Description of a Lesson

The requirements for an LEA lesson are the same as those for a creative writing lesson: there has to be something to say, someone to say it to, and some reason why written language is more appropriate for this message and this audience than spoken language. Written language, as opposed to spoken language, is used when we want to communicate across time or across space. If we want a record of what happened, of what we said or thought or did, we write it down. A tape recording of oral conversations does not at all capture the ideas put forth, the points well made, the decisions reached. Anyone who tried to struggle through

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some of the Nixon transcripts recognizes this. In the sample LEA lesson discussed in this article, written language is more appropriate than spoken because the students are creating a story that will be added to their class storybook.

There are innumerable ways to start an LEA story, because there are innumerable things to talk about. A favorite LEA starter is a wordless picture book, which tells a complete story through pictures, without any text. Two authors in particular, Martha Alexander and Mercer Mayer,[1] delight youngsters. To use a wordless picture book for the LEA story, the teacher first lets the students "read" the story; that is, look at the pictures. This step seldom requires talking by teacher or student; like most reading activities, it is a sort of quiet conversation between author and reader.

After the students have read the story, the teacher can elicit their discussion of it, aimed at reading consensus on basic plot line and character development. Once this goal is reached, the teacher can begin to record the story. Each student is given the opportunity to offer at least one sentence that builds the story. The teacher writes what each student says on the board or an overhead projector where everyone can read it. Immediately after transcribing each sentence, the teacher may read it aloud very quickly, underlining with his finger as he reads, and ask, "Did I get it right? Is that what you want to say? Is that the way you want to say it?" As each paragraph is completed, this finger-pointing and reading aloud can be repeated. The teacher should not point to each word and say each word slowly and distinctly. Far from it. The oral reading should be fast, so that the material is real, as whole language; it is not a word list, nor a structure drill.

The continual oral rereading has three purposes: it refreshes the students' memories as to what they have already said; it gives the students a chance to edit, to change what they have dictated if they wish; and, the constant repetition which associates meanings with visual shapes will soon result in the students' reading this text without assistance.

After the entire story has been dictated, the teacher reads it through aloud, giving the authors another chance to edit their work. Frequently, at least some of the authors read along out loud, particularly those portions which they dictated. Sometimes, especially when the story is short, the class reads it in chorus with the teacher. Those who prefer to read silently do so. It is a good idea to get as much rereading of the completed story as possible at this time. The story then should be copied by someone—the teacher, an aide, a student or all the students—because it is the raw material of several successive reading lessons.

Transcribing What is Spoken

Teachers trying LEA for the first time need to remind themselves that their job is to write what the students say, not to write what they want the students to say. That is important. One teacher complained that LEA just was not working with a young

[1] Both authors are published by Dial Press, 1 Dag Hammarskjold Plaza, New York, NY 10017, USA.

boy whom she was tutoring. She was observed presenting LEA in this way: "Well, Stevie, what shall we write about today? Would you like to write a story about this picture? What shall we say first? Shall we talk about the people in the picture? Do you want to say, 'The people are playing a game.' Is that the first sentence in our story? Ooooh, I like that." Stevie nodded his head and looked out the window a lot. Like many teachers, this one equated teaching with talking; once she realized that one could teach with one's mouth shut, she began to get some stories from Stevie, and she decided that LEA was not a failure after all. To write what the students say, the teacher has to give them plenty of chances to say something; this means that the teacher must supply time, silence, and attention. Some teachers find themselves telling their classes almost daily, "I want you to listen carefully. Now pay attention." Those teachers will perhaps find it refreshing to change roles with the students, and become the careful listener.

Another point about writing what the students say rather than what the teacher thinks they should say needs to be made. If the students dictate something ungrammatical, the teacher must transcribe it as dictated, grammatical mistakes and all. One of my students gave me this sentence from page one of Mayer's *A Boy, A Dog, and A Frog*. "Boy and dog walking." That is what I wrote, and that is what I said when I read it aloud. "Boy and dog walking." I did not make any changes, and I did not make any comments about the grammar.

There are three main reasons for transcribing exactly what is dictated, without any discussion of grammar and without any grammatical "improvements" by the teacher. First, the core of LEA is using the beginning reader's language as the base on which to build reading materials, and that means the *reader's* language, not someone else's. Second, the focus of the lesson should not deteriorate into a presentation of grammatical niceties. Third, transcribing exactly what the students say gives the ESL teacher both a record of progress and data for further lesson planning.

The first reason for transcribing the exact wording is the most vital. LEA works when the students' beginning reading materials, developed by them with the teacher's help, have the students' ideas in their language. If it is the teacher's ideas and the teacher's language that are expressed, it may be marvelous material, but it is not LEA. LEA works because students tend to be able to read what they have just said. It is more difficult to read what someone else has just said, but it is easier if what has been written down is the result of a commonly experienced event, such as a class discussion. "Boy and dog walking" are the students' present language forms. If I have to bite my tongue to keep from correcting that sentence, I bite it.

Frequently, a student who is more proficient in English will want to correct her classmate's English errors. I do not want and will not allow one student to yell out comments about another's contributions. For a class LEA story (rather than an individual one), when I reread the sentence and ask, "Did I write this correctly? Is this the way you want to say it?" a more advanced student may suggest that "boy and dog" be altered to read "a boy and a dog." When one student suggests changing another's sentence, I always ask the original author for permission before changing anything.

The second reason for writing exactly what is dictated is that, if the teacher interferes during the transcription step by changing the language or by making it clear to the students that she expects them to change it somehow, then she is focusing their attention on surface forms rather than on content. The interference suggests, however inadvertently, that reading is really another grammar lesson. Since reading is going from print to meaning, students need to focus on the meaning whenever they try to read anything, rather than lose the meaning because they are concerned with form more than with content.

A common objection to writing exactly what the students say, incorrect grammar included, is that the teacher may be reinforcing poor English by not correcting the mistakes. Research on language acquisition may counter this objection. Most of the research that has been done on first language acquisition indicates that the focus is on the meaning, not on the form. If a child says, "Mommy home," and it is her Mommy pulling into the driveway, her Daddy is likely to say, "Yes, Mommy's home." But if a child says, "Mommy's home," and it's not Mommy, no one compliments the child on her excellent use of contracted *to be;* Daddy says, "No, you're wrong. That's not Mommy." We all learn to speak our first language fairly well, and we do so while attention is directed to content, not to form. Maybe our second language learners can learn ESL while directing their attention to meaning, rather than to form. That is what the teacher is doing when he transcribes what is said without correcting the grammar; he is paying attention to meaning, and his doing so will "reinforce" the students' tendency to do the same.

The third reason the teacher-scribe needs to write what is dictated without interfering or changing it is that the students' volunteered sentences, which are recorded in the LEA story, supply excellent excellent information about the students' present proficiency in the language and their progress. Some examples will clarify this observation. The first example was dictated by a 15-year-old Russian-speaker who had been in the USA five months, attending a bilingual school (Hebrew-English). This excerpt comes from the story he dictated based on Alexander's *Out! Out!*:

> Mother is in kitchen. She make baby lunch. Small child sit on the chair and eat. Bird sit on window and child give for the bird his eat. In the corridor is other child; he playing his train. He pull train for tie.

This next example is a description of a picture postcard; it was dictated by a 25-year-old Yugoslav:

> In the picture I can see old building, river Drina, trees. This is a river is beautiful. This is a building is old. I am looking trees waln[illegible]. I am looking little building. I am looking mountains Majevica.

The Russian-speaker's LEA story suggests that he is ready for some grammatical lessons on the present progressive; the Yugoslav's suggests that he needs some work on compound nouns (walnut trees; Majevica mountains).

This sort of information is invaluable to the teacher who is individualizing the class, giving to each student what that student needs then, and to the teacher who wants to individualize but does not know quite where to begin. The old axiom, "Begin where the student is," is splendid advice, but first one needs to find

out *where* the student is. Recording what each student says as each student says it helps to find that place. Also, the LEA stories provide a continuous record of progress in the language. The Russian who needed to work on the present progressive when he read *Out! Out!* dictated a short description of a picture a week later; a week after that, he self-corrected two uses of the present progressive. Here is his original dictation, with his corrections shown in brackets and by crossouts:

> Two ladies [are] playing in tennis. In the hand they [are] holding the rackets. One from they is running to ball.

A month later, the same student dictated this (the self-corrections were made two weeks after that):

> The boy live[s] in [on] the ranch. He help[s] ~~he~~ his parents. He give[s] the food for the cocks. . . . The cows eat~~s~~ the grass and he watch[es] ~~he~~ them.

Of course, these self-corrections are possible only when the student can reread her LEA story. This is the reason the stories are copied after they have been dictated; if they are convenient to the students, on the bulletin board, or in the students' folders, they can be read and reread and reread. Every time the student rereads her LEA story, the reading is faster and easier. Many students, without prodding, begin to make comments about individual words and even individual letters. "That word's *dog*, right?" "That's a *d*, isn't it?" Such comments let the teacher know how finely the student is tuning in to the reading process. This does not imply that the student should be concerned with individual words or with letters. A student who dictates "boy and dog walking" may read it aloud as "boy and puppy walking." That sort of reading indicates that his focus is on meaning, which is where it should be.

Extension of the LEA

A natural extension of the use of LEA is to use the LEA story as a basis for later lessons. For example, the story can be transformed into a cloze exercise by simply blocking out every fifth or tenth word. It can be turned into a modified cloze by blocking out every *n*th noun or verb or adjective. Any vocabulary item that is predictable can be blocked out. For a group, vocabulary items for which there are several synonyms can be omitted, and the group can discuss the options. Cloze and modified cloze exercises give the reader practice in using context; they are particularly good for the student who is a very slow reader because she is overly cautious and will not guess. Faced with this from her own LEA story, she will probably be less hesitant: "The boy and dog walking home from_____. They see a frog_____."

What can be done for those students who, the teacher suspects, have merely memorized the stories and are not reading them? Copy each sentence from the story separately on a 3 x 5 card; shuffle the cards; have the student arrange them in the correct order. Another use of LEA stories is to have the students underline everything that they know or everything that they do not know. All of these

suggestions for extending the LEA stories use rereading and more rereading as the basic technique, therefore multiple copies will be needed. The stories should be put on ditto or mimeograph masters.

Variations of the LEA

There are many variations to the basic LEA process just described, although they all use the students' ideas in the students' language. The sample LEA lesson discussed previously was with a class, and the entire class produced one story together. At this point we should consider, first, how LEA materials can be elicited from individuals and groups, and, second, how the students can be their own scribes.

Working with one student at a time on an LEA story sounds to most classroom teachers like a dream, beautiful but impossible. It is not really impossible, though, at least not in classrooms where the teacher can arrange things so that he has 20-30 minutes with one group of eight students. Teachers with aides, parent volunteers, or older student volunteers, and teachers with self-contained classrooms will have much less difficulty with this possibility than teachers who meet their several large classes only a few hours a week. Once the teacher gets a group of students together for the LEA activity, the first step, like the first step in creating an LEA story with an entire class, is having something to say, someone to say it to, and some reason for saying it in writing. In one variation the teacher starts the entire group on a common topic, then each member of the group draws an illustration of that topic, while the teacher moves from student to student, transcribing each one's individual story in turn.

Another LEA variation begins by giving each student a cartoon strip that has had the dialogue blacked out and the first or last frame cut off; this activity lends itself particularly well to eliciting different verb tenses in ESL. That is, if the first frame of a cartoon strip is omitted, the teacher can ask, "What happened before?" and have the students invent the situation in which their cartoon might have occurred, as well as inventing the appropriate dialogue and description of the situation. Similarly, if the last frame is omitted, the teacher can ask, "What will happen?" and the students invent probable future situations and dialogues. A variation of this also makes use of comic strips with blacked-out dialogues, but the strips are cut into separate frames. Each student arranges the frames in the sequence she wants, pastes them that way, and creates the dialogue to fit. All of these variations keep each student working independently while the teacher works with one at a time.

A good way for the teacher to get more time with each student is to let the students write their own LEA material, in other words act as their own scribes. This technique can work even with students who cannot write legibly. For example, each student in a group can select a picture, "write" a caption for that picture, and then read the caption to the teacher. With youngsters under nine, that last step is often vital because the teacher may not be able to decipher the child's scribble. The child, however, can read the scribble, and once the child has told the teacher what her writing says, the teacher can write or type that in legible

form. Although sometimes the teacher will want to write down the student's caption immediately, usually this step is better carried out later, during the teacher's class preparation time. The typed captions can be returned to the students the next day, to be reread and perhaps pasted on the pictures to which they belong. One excellent teacher lets two or three of her students discuss their pictures and captions; then she puts several captions (without their pictures) on the desk and asks the students to find their own or to find their friend's. For more advanced students, this teacher also will place several key words from each student's LEA story on the desk and ask the student to select a word and tell whose story it came from. One effective aspect of this technique is that the teacher does *not* ask the students to say exactly what the phrase or word is; she only asks them to identify which whole a specific part fits into. The students are usually quite good at this; the task is comparable to being faced with two assembled jigsaw puzzles, each of which has a couple of pieces missing, then being given a piece and asked, "which puzzle does this go in?"

Incorporating Writing

Getting the student to act as her own scribe adds a fourth process, writing, to the three language arts which are already integrated into LEA. The processes of listening and speaking are used in the discussion and dictation of the story; the process of reading is used in the steps of dictation, transcription, and rereading. The initial examples of writing will probably be far from polished prose. Just as sometimes in the discussion and dictation steps, a student will ask how to express her idea—(how to *say* it in English) she will then also need help in *writing* it in English. For example, a 12-year-old Russian boy whom I was tutoring arrived for our lesson clearly upset, and when I asked him to select a picture and begin writing about it, he said, "I do not like writing!" So I wrote, "I do not like writing!" and asked him to tell me what else he did not like. "I do not like my new *teacher*!" I told him to write about that, and this is what he wrote:

> I do not like writing!
> I do not like my new *teacher*!
> Bukose she do not give me worka doo, and vyan I ame going to da bas room and she sad kam, ryil fast. Vyan I ame kam bak and sedan I ame seding vyan finusht a scul!!!
> thE -And

Getting his anger and frustration down on paper must have been therapeutic, because he was quite calm when he read it aloud, so that I could type it in standard spelling for him to read the next day.

> i do not like writing!
> I do not like my new *teacher*!
> Because she do not give me work to do, and when I am going to the bath room and she said, "Come, real fast." When I am come back and sit down, I am sitting when finished a school!!!

Every ESL student will need at least some help with spelling. The Arab-speaker who wrote this next example, based on a picture, has much more difficulty with English spelling than the Russian boy does.

> I lik wother ske becas det sports very hart. Bat Somach pipl think tht sport wery ise. An this picker I sou two pipls men and woman had pley wother ski. He hold hr wout one hens. Shi hold sou hart wout bout hens waer, bickas shi maybe afraid tu fol down. Bout shi loks sou hapi I se an hr fes smile.

> I like water ski because that sport's very hard. But some people think that sport very easy. In this picture I saw two peoples, man and woman, had play water ski. He hold her with one hands. She hold so hard with both hands wire, because she maybe afraid to fall down. But she looks so happy. I see on her face smile.

With both the Russian's and the Arab's stories, I corrected this spelling as a matter of course when I typed up what they had written, but I did not really pay much attention to spelling, nor did I ask them to. In each story or article that they wrote, two to five words that they consistently used were just as consistently misspelled. "Vyan" for "when," "ame" for "am" in the first example, "shi" for "she," "hart" for "hard" in the second, are typical of what I found and gave to the student as his spelling list for the day. I was far more interested in finding out from their writing what vocabulary and grammar lessons they still needed and which ones they were ready for. Of course, the primary reason for asking them to write was to elicit reading material for them, material that would be easy to read, and very meaningful to read because it was their own thoughts in their own forms of English.

Getting Started

Sometimes a teacher will say, "LEA sounds nice, but I don't have wordless picture books. What else can I use as a starter?"

LEA "starters" are used to elicit LEA stories. One type of starter is material of any type that tells a story through pictures and without any text. Wordless picture books belong to this type, but so do comic strips, films, and videotapes without printed words. The wordless film, *The Red Balloon*, is ideal, as are videotapes of pantomimists like Marcel Marceau. Books, films, and videotapes all cost money, which often precludes a school having them. Homemade substitutes for some materials can be produced in the class by the students, as part of their English lessons. The students can make their own wordless picture books with pictures from magazines, with their own drawings, with snapshots, or with all of these in various combinations. From a first or second grader, for example, can come a series of LEA materials that form the child's individual reading book.

One proud youngster's collection was titled *Maria's Book* and a snapshot of Maria herself was displayed on the cover. Inside were various stories, articles, and poems, all created by Maria as LEA materials, all illustrated by her drawings, her selection of magazine pictures, or photographs in which she figured prominently. The same sorts of material, especially snapshots, were used with a

56-year-old Spanish-speaking immigrant to the United States who did not read in either Spanish or English.

Few schools can afford to make their own films and videotapes, but every class can produce its own shows. These do not have to be extensive dramatic productions that take weeks and even months; they can be dramatic sketches, produced as part of other activities. Several games, for instance, can become tiny dramas, and if used with a group or even a whole class in the ESL lesson, can produce LEA reading material. For example, the game of guess-what-I-am requires one student to pantomime while the others must ask her questions. That is, the ESL lesson is formation of questions. The teacher can write some of the questions on the board as the students are asked, "You live in Quebec? You a bear?" After a couple of actors have had their turn, the teacher can use the questions that he has written in two or three ways. The easiest way is for the students to reread them with the teacher and copy them. Another way is to discuss the questions themselves: "What can you find out from this question?" "What were you thinking of when you asked that?" On the basis of that discussion the teacher can elicit reading material from the group or from each student. Here is a sample excerpt:

> I thought Jean was a bird, so I asked, "You can fly?" Jean said "No, cannot fly."

After this game has been played several times, the teacher may want to discuss basic types of questions, and to write these on a flip chart where they can be kept to use whenever the game is played. Are you a _____? Are you _____ing now? Do you have any_____?

The same sort of use can be made of the game, guess-what-I-am-doing, a much simpler game for students of beginning English proficiency. Because the basic question for this game, and sometimes the only one used, is "Are you _____ing?", the flip chart for this game can have large pockets, and as the students' vocabulary increases the teacher can add word cards to the pockets. Two or more students can then use the flip chart together while they play, selecting the card they want and holding it in the blank. The one who is It must read the question.

Any role-playing activity can be used as an LEA starter. The teacher records what the students say and, after the role-playing is finished, reads their words back to them, giving them a chance to edit.

Another way to start an LEA lesson is by reading a story aloud to the students. Their discussion of that story can be the LEA material; or the story may spark enough interest so that each student wants to create her own. One youngster, for example, loved Monster stories (Bowmar Press); his teacher would read him a Monster story, and then the child would dictate a story of his own about Monster. With adult ESL students, I have had very good results using folk tales: I read one to them, and they are reminded of folk tales from their childhood. These tales, after being typed and copied, are often shared proudly with classmates.

Some of the very best LEA stories are created without any books or pictures or games or role-playing. They come from the current activities and the current

feelings of the students themselves. One of the best LEA starters of my experience was a puppy which the teacher brought to class. The children held it, stroked it, sniffed it, felt it lick their faces, and of course, talked about it. The anger felt by the boy whose teacher did not give him work to do stimulated a strong piece of writing. What students are vitally interested in is always the best topic for their LEA activities: they will have a great deal to say and what they have said will be easy for them to read.

Is LEA appropriate for any ESL student just beginning to read English? Certainly not. Students who are unable to speak at all, or students for whom connected discourse is painfully difficult would find LEA to be a frustrating experience. Students who do have a basic vocabulary and an expressed desire to communicate and "try their ESL wings" might find LEA very rewarding. It is not appropriate for the student who has almost no English, the child who spends only two to five periods a week studying English and who knows no English speaker with whom he wants to converse or has to converse. Further, if his English lessons are based on the assumption that language is an arbitrary system of sounds, and that the system is mastered through controlled drill which establishes automatic habits, then he probably spends most of his ESL class time repeating sentences like "This is a glove. These are gloves. This is a hat. These are hats." This child is not building much of a base for meaningful use of English, and therefore he is not building the base for reading English. For the student with some proficiency in ESL, the language experience approach to beginning reading in English provides for a wide variety of reading material, material that every student finds easy to read and interesting to read. I know of no published material that matches those two criteria.

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